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PASSAGES

FROM THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF

WILLIAM PENN,

COLLECTED

BY THE EDITOR FROM HIS
PUBLISHED WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE
AND FROM THE
BIOGRAPHIES OF CLARKSON, LEWIS, AND JANNEY,
AND OTHER RELIABLE SOURCES.

Thomas P. Cope

PHILADELPHIA:
FOR SALE AT FRIENDS' BOOK-STORE,
304 ARCH STREET.
1882.



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CONTENTS.

I. EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION. EXPULSION FROM OXFORD AND FROM HIS FATHER'S HOUSE. LIFE ON THE CONTINENT. LIFE IN IRELAND WITH THE DUKE OF ORMOND, AND IN CARE OF HIS FATHER'S ESTATES. PREACHING OF THOMAS LOE. FIRST IMPRISONMENT. SECOND EXILE FROM HOME.	7
II. "THE GUIDE MISTAKEN." PUBLIC RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION WITH T. VINCENT. "THE SANDY FOUNDATION SHAKEN." IMPRISONMENT IN THE TOWER. "INNOCENCY WITH HER OPEN FACE."	22
III. "NO CROSS, NO CROWN."	44
IV. ARREST FOR PREACHING. TRIAL AT THE OLD BAILEY. COMMITMENT, WITH THE JURY, TO NEWGATE. DEATH OF ADMIRAL PENN.	80
V. ARREST AND TRIAL FOR PREACHING BY THE LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER AND IMPRISONMENT IN NEWGATE.	99
VI. "THE GREAT CASE OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE DEBATED." REPLY TO "QUAKERISM ANATOMIZED."	105

VII. MARRIAGE. PUBLIC RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY WITH T. HICKS AND J. IVES. CONTROVERSY WITH J. PEROT AND FOLLOWERS. VISIT TO COURT ON ACCOUNT OF IMPRISONMENT OF GEORGE FOX. "ENGLAND'S PRESENT INTEREST CONSIDERED." LETTER TO THE PRINCESS PALATINE OF THE RHINE. . . . 111

VIII. JOURNAL OF TRAVELS IN HOLLAND AND GERMANY. 141

IX. "ADDRESS TO PROTESTANTS." "ONE PROJECT FOR THE GOOD OF ENGLAND." 200

X. ARBITRATION BETWEEN FENWICK AND BYLLINGE. TRUSTESHIP FOR AND SETTLEMENT OF WEST NEW JERSEY. . . 214

XI. "EXAMINATION OF LIBERTY SPIRITUAL." . . . 221

XII. GRANT OF PENNSYLVANIA FROM CHARLES II. CONDITIONS OR CONCESSIONS TO SETTLERS. FIRST SETTLEMENTS. LETTER TO THE INDIANS. CONSTITUTION OF PENNSYLVANIA. 233

XIII. LETTER TO HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN. ARRIVAL IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1682. FIRST ASSEMBLY AND CODE OF LAWS. FOUNDING OF PHILADELPHIA. TREATY WITH THE INDIANS AT SHACKAMAXON. 255

XIV. DESCRIPTIVE LETTER TO THE FREE SOCIETY OF TRADERS OF PENNSYLVANIA. LETTER FROM STEPHEN CRISP. FAREWELL LETTERS TO FRIENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA. . . . 282

XV. ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND, 1684. VISIT TO THE KING AND DUKE OF YORK. LETTER INFORMING OF DEATH OF CHARLES II. CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. TILLOTSON, AFTERWARDS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. 299

XVI. "A PERSUASIVE TO MODERATION." VISIT TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. LETTER OF COMMISSION TO THOMAS LLOYD AND OTHERS IN PENNSYLVANIA. 315

XVII. DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE BY KING JAMES. IMPRISONMENT OF THE SIX BISHOPS. POPULAR DISTRUST OF WILLIAM PENN AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH SECRETARY OF BOARD OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS. WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE, MADE KING. ARREST OF WILLIAM PENN. . . . 329

XVIII. APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR BLACKWELL AND LETTERS TO THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL. 354

XIX. SECOND ARREST ON SUSPICION OF FAVORING KING JAMES. LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA ON THE SUBJECT. 359

XX. "A KEY OPENING THE WAY TO DISTINGUISH THE RELIGION PROFESSED BY THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS." "AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PEACE OF EUROPE." 368

XXI. "THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS." 389

XXII. ACCOUNT OF HIS SON SPRINGETT. "PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY REVIVED." LETTER TO THE CZAR OF MUSCOVY. 419

XXIII. "ADVICE TO HIS CHILDREN." 439

XXIV. DISAGREEMENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA AND SEPARATION
OF THE PROVINCE AND TERRITORIES. GOVERNMENT TAKEN
BY THE CROWN AND RESTORED. SAILS FOR PENNSYLVANIA,
1699. 451

XXV. ARRIVAL AT PHILADELPHIA. DIFFERENCES IN THE
PROVINCIAL COUNCIL. PROPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT TO AS-
SUME THE GOVERNMENT. SAILS FOR ENGLAND, 1701. . 463

XXVI. CORRESPONDENCE WITH JAMES LOGAN ABOUT
COLONIAL AFFAIRS AND WILLIAM PENN JR. . . . 478

XXVII. IMPOSITIONS OF HIS STEWARD, PHILIP FORD. LET-
TER OF REMONSTRANCE TO THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY. SALE
OF THE PROVINCE TO THE CROWN. FAILURE OF HEALTH AND
DEATH. 493

PASSAGES

FROM THE

Life and Writings of William Penn.

I.

WILLIAM PENN was honorably descended; his paternal ancestors, for several generations, having been persons of high respectability and considerable note in the world. His grandfather, Giles Penn, was a captain in the English navy. His father, Sir William Penn, at an early age, became a distinguished naval officer, and passed rapidly through the successive grades of promotion, so that at the age of thirty-one he was created Vice Admiral. He was a man of good understanding and a thoughtful turn of mind; amiable in natural disposition, but accustomed to the exercise of absolute authority; and honorable, but ambitious of distinction and wealth.

William Penn was born in London on the 14th of the Eighth month, (now the Tenth,) A. D. 1644. Of his very early years but little is known. Being the heir to a considerable estate, and a youth of promising abilities, his father appears to have spared no expense to confer upon

him the best education which the country could afford. He received the rudiments of learning at Chigwell school, which was near Wanstead, in Essex, then the country residence of his father. Although he left this place at the age of twelve years, yet he appears while there to have received serious religious impressions. The Lord, who designed to make him an instrument of good to many souls, visited him by his Holy Spirit, comforting him with a sense of his presence, giving him an assurance of the reality of communion with Him, and calling him to a holy life.

On leaving Wanstead, Admiral Penn went with his family to live on a large estate near Cork, in Ireland, which had been given him by Cromwell for services rendered. Here his son pursued his studies under the care of a tutor.

In an account which William Penn is said to have given of some of the circumstances of his early life, it is stated, "That while he was but a child, living near Cork with his father, Thomas Loe came thither. When it was rumored a Quaker was come from England, his father proposed to some others to be like the noble Bereans, and hear him before they judged him. He accordingly sent to Thomas Loe to come to his house, where he had a meeting in the family. Though William was very young, he observed what effect Thomas Loe's preaching had on the hearers. A black servant of his father's could not restrain himself from weeping aloud; and little William, looking on his father, saw the tears running down his cheeks also. He then thought within himself, 'What if they would all be Quakers!' This opportunity he never quite forgot; the remembrance of it still recurring at times."

When a little over fifteen years of age, William Penn entered as "a gentleman commoner" at Oxford, where he remained three years, distinguishing himself as a hard and successful student. We learn from himself that he was preserved uncorrupted in the midst of the dissipations and wickedness which abounded in the University. He took great delight in manly sports, and in the society of those young men who were distinguished for talents or worth. Among those with whom he was intimate were Robert Spencer, afterwards the well-known Earl of Sunderland, and the venerable John Locke.

After the Restoration, the court set to work to remodel the University, by displacing those who held Puritanical opinions, or who had found favor during the Commonwealth, and installing others friendly to the re-established church and the lax moral principles then prevailing. Dr. Owen, conspicuous as a scholar and a strict religionist, was ejected to make room for a royalist partisan; and the students became divided into parties, applauding or denouncing the changes made.

There is reason to believe, from observations made by William Penn himself, that throughout his youth he was repeatedly visited by the Dayspring from on high, bringing him into serious thoughtfulness. While at college his associates appear to have been those of a religious cast of character like himself, who had probably been influenced by the teaching and advice of Dr. Owen. It so happened that while much controversy was going on among the scholars relative to religious opinions and practices, Thomas Loe, who had belonged to the University, and had now joined the Society of Friends, came to Oxford,

and held several meetings. To these meetings William Penn and his associates went, and a deep impression was made upon their minds by the powerful preaching of this devoted servant of Christ. They declined being present at what were now the regular "services" of the college, and held private meetings for worship and religious exhortation and prayer; and for this they were fined. When an order came down from Charles the Second that the surplice should be worn, according to the custom of ancient times, which was an unusual sight then at that University, they refused to wear them, and tore them off those they met. How far William Penn was implicated in this is not known; but his course gave great offence, and he was expelled the University with his associates.

When he returned home his father received him coldly. Indeed, he could not be otherwise than displeased with his son, on account of the public disgrace which he had thus incurred; but that which vexed him most was the change now observable in his habits, for he began to abandon what was called the fashionable world, and to mix only with serious and religious people. The Admiral was fearful that all the prospects in life which he had formed for his son, and which he could have promoted by his great connections, would be done away. Anxious, therefore, to recover him, he had recourse to persuasion and argument. This failing, like one accustomed to arbitrary power, he proceeded to blows; and the latter failing also, he turned him out of doors.

The Admiral, after a procedure so violent, began at length to relent. His wife, an amiable woman, lost no opportunity of intercession. Overcome, therefore, by his

own affectionate nature on the one hand, and by her entreaties on the other, he forgave his son. But he was desirous of meeting the evil for the future, and he saw no other means of doing it than by sending his son to France. He indulged a hope that the change of scene might wean him from his old connections, and that the gayety of French manners might correct the growing gravity of his mind. Accordingly, in 1662, he sent him to that country in company with certain persons of rank who were then going upon their travels. The place where he first resided was Paris.

Though William Penn was kept pure in the midst of the seductions of this gay and licentious metropolis, it furnished little society calculated to strengthen his pious resolutions. He afterwards resided some time at Saumur, where he went for the purpose of receiving instruction from the celebrated Moses Amyrault, a learned Calvinistic minister and professor of divinity, who was then held in high estimation. Under this instructor he renewed his studies, read the ancient fathers as well as the modern works of theology, and acquired an accurate knowledge of the French language. After leaving Saumur, he proceeded towards Italy, but when he arrived at Turin a letter from his father reached him, desiring his return home. The Admiral having received orders to take command of the fleet under the Duke of York against the Dutch, wished to leave his family in the care of his son. William accordingly returned in 1664, having been absent about two years. On his return his father perceived not only that he had become a good French scholar, but that he brought with him the air and bearing of the courtly life

to which he had been introduced in Paris. His new associations had in some degree worn off the seriousness of his demeanor, so that his father supposed that he had gained his point. At his suggestion he entered as a student of law at Lincoln's Inn. While there his father sailed with the fleet, and he accompanied him for a few days. His letter on landing at Harwich shows the affectionate respect he had for his father.

“HONORED FATHER:—We could not arrive here sooner than this day, about twelve of the clock, by reason of the continued cross winds, and, as I thought, foul weather. I pray God, after all the foul weather and dangers you are exposed to, and shall be, that you come home as secure. And I bless God my heart does not in any way fail, but firmly believe that if God has called you out to battle, He will cover your head in that smoky day. And, as I never knew what a father was till I had wisdom enough to prize him, so I can safely say that now, of all times, your concerns are most dear to me.”

The Admiral made his son bearer of a despatch to King Charles. This was no doubt his first official visit to Whitehall, but that he must have been well known to the king appears by his letter to his father reporting the delivery of the despatch. His letter closes with these words:

“I pray God be with you, and be your armor in the day of controversy! May that power be your salvation, for his name's sake. And so will he wish and pray, that is with all true veneration, honored father,

“Your obedient son and servant,

WILLIAM PENN.”

He continued at Lincoln's Inn about a year, until the great plague which prevailed in London in 1665 induced him to leave the city. The awful scenes of death deeply impressed him. The Holy Spirit again broke up his false rest and showed him the emptiness of worldly grandeur and honor, and wooed him to leave all and follow Christ.

William Penn's worldly prospects were highly flattering to the natural ambition of a young and ardent mind. He possessed a manly form blooming with health, a lively and active disposition, a ready wit and talents improved by great literary and scientific attainments, and many rich and powerful friends. These, added to his father's interest at court, and his intimacy with the Duke of York, presumptive heir to the crown, as well as the solicitations of numerous friends, strongly inclined him to embrace the glory and pleasures of this world, which might be said to court his acceptance. But the glory and joy of the heavenly inheritance had taken possession of his mind; and it is evident from his own account that he was under deep religious feeling, and panting after the more full disclosure of divine Truth.

He had come from the continent with an air of gayety and a show of polite manners which the Admiral had mistaken for a great change in his mind. But now, in 1666, all volatile appearances had died away. He had become again a serious person. He mixed again only with grave and religious people. His father could not but notice this change. Not easily to be vanquished, he determined a second time to endeavor to break up his son's connections, and, to effect this, he sent him to Ireland.

One reason which induced him to make choice of Ireland for this purpose, was his acquaintance with the Duke of Ormond, who was then lord-lieutenant of that country, as well as with several others who attended his court. The duke himself was a man of a graceful appearance, lively wit, and cheerful temper; and his court had the reputation of great gayety and splendor. The Admiral conceived, therefore, if his son were properly introduced among his friends there, that he might even yet receive a new bias and acquire a new taste. While there he joined the duke's son, the Earl of Arran, in an expedition on which he was sent to put down a mutiny of the garrison at Carrickfergus, and was reported to have "acquitted himself in that action to his no small reputation." He was offered, and seemed inclined to accept, the command of the fort at Kinsale in his father's place; but it appears from the following letter from his father that he did not favor it:

"SON WILLIAM:—I have received two or three letters from you since I wrote any to you. Besides my former advice I can say nothing but advise to sobriety and all those things that will speak you a Christian and a gentleman, which prudence may make to have the best consistency. As to the tender made by his grace, the lord-lieutenant, concerning the fort at Kinsale, I wish your youthful desires may n't outrun your discretion. His grace may, for a time, dispense with my absence; yours he will not, for so he told me. God bless, direct, and protect you.

Your very affectionate father,

W. PENN."

But his religious impressions prevailed over the influences of court life, and he turned away with disgust from the routine of its parade and ceremonies, and the unsatisfying round of its pleasures and gayeties.

Thus disappointed again in his expectations, but not yet overcome, the Admiral had recourse to another expedient. He had large estates in Ireland, one of which, comprehending Shannigary Castle, lay in the barony of Imokelly, and the others in the baronies of Ibaune and Barryroe, all of them in the county of Cork. He determined, therefore, to give his son the sole management of these, knowing at least, while he resided upon them, that he would be far from his English connections, and at any rate that he would have ample employment for his time. William received his new commission, and was happy in the execution of it. He performed it, after a trial of many months, to the entire satisfaction, and even joy, of his father; and he was going on in the diligent performance of it, when this, his very occupation, brought him eventually into the situation which his father of all others deprecated. Being accidentally on business at Cork, he went into a shop kept by a woman, a Friend, whom he had known when a boy. He made himself known, and reminded her of the meeting held by Thomas Loe at his father's house. On her expressing surprise at his memory of the circumstances, he said he could never forget them, and that he would go a hundred miles to hear that Friend speak. She told him he need not go so far, for he was now in Cork, and was to have a meeting the next day. It was impossible that he could return to his farm without seeing the man whom he considered as his great-

est human benefactor, and still more without hearing his discourse. Accordingly he attended. The preacher began with the text: "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." On this subject he enlarged, and this in so impressive a manner that William was deeply affected. He felt keenly that he had been allowing the world to overcome the drawings of his Heavenly Father's love, and wept much.

Reviewing his life some years afterwards, in an interview with some pious persons, he says: "I let them know how and when the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, and how at times, between that and my fifteenth, He continued to visit me, and the divine impressions He gave me of himself; of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of the hellish darkness and debauchery of that place; of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father, whipping, beating, and turning out of doors; of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London; in fine, the deep sense He gave me of the vanity of this world and of the irreligiousness of the religions of it; then of my mournful and bitter cries to Him, that He would show me his own way of life and salvation, and my resolution to follow Him whatever reproaches or suffering it might cost me, and that with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How, after all this, the glory of the world overtook me, and I was even ready to give myself up unto it, seeing as yet no such things as the primitive spirit and church on earth; and

being ready to faint concerning my hope of the restitution of all things.

“It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his eternal Word, through one of those the world calls Quakers, namely, Thomas Loe. I related the bitter mockings and scornings that fell upon me, the displeasure of my parents, the cruelty and invective of the priests, the strangeness of all my companions, and what a sign and wonder they made of me; but, above all, that great cross of resisting and watching against my own vain affections and thoughts.”

William Penn was so impressed by Thomas Loe's sermon, and by an interview which he had afterwards with him, that from that day he favored Friends as a religious body, and began to attend their meetings. At one of these, in the autumn of 1667, he was apprehended on the plea of a proclamation issued in 1660 against tumultuous assemblies, and carried before the mayor. The latter, looking at him and observing that he was not clothed as others of the Society were, offered him his liberty if he would give bond for his good behavior. But not choosing to do this, he was committed with eighteen others to prison.

He had not been there long when he wrote to Lord Orrery, then president of the council of Munster, to request his release. We find in this letter nothing either servile or degrading. It was written, on the other hand, in a manly and yet decorous manner. “*Religion*,” says he, “which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but *mine own free man*.” “And though to dissent from a national system

imposed by authority renders men heretics, yet I dare believe your lordship is better read in reason and theology than to subscribe a maxim so vulgar and untrue." "But I presume, my lord, the acquaintance you have had with other countries must needs have furnished you with this infallible observation, that diversities of faith and worship contribute not to the disturbance of any place, where moral uniformity is barely requisite to preserve the peace." This, his first appeal for religious toleration, of which the foregoing are a few sentences, was followed by an immediate order from the earl for his release.

The rumor that he had become a Quaker soon reached his father. It was conveyed to him by a nobleman then resident in Ireland, who addressed him purposely on the subject. The Admiral on the receipt of this letter sent for his son. William immediately obeyed, and returned home. At the first interview all appeared to be well. There was nothing discoverable in his dress or manners by which the information sent concerning him could be judged to be true. But observing on the next day that his son did not uncover his head when he came into his presence (in those days men generally wore their hats in the house), and that he used thee and thou when addressing him, the Admiral demanded an explanation.

"And here," says Joseph Besse, (the first collector of the works of William Penn with a Journal of his Life prefixed,) "my pen is diffident of her abilities to describe that most pathetic and moving contest which was between his father and him: his father actuated by natural love, principally aiming at his son's temporal honor; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eter-

nal welfare: his father, grieved to see the well accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turning his back upon it; he, no less afflicted to think a compliance with his earthly father's pleasures was inconsistent with his obedience to his heavenly one: his father pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times; he, modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience: his father earnestly entreating him, and almost on his knees beseeching him, to yield to his desire; he, of a loving and tender disposition, in an extreme agony of spirit to behold his father's concern and trouble: his father threatening to disinherit him; he, humbly submitting to his father's will therein: his father turning his back on him in anger; he, lifting up his heart to God for strength to support him in that time of trial."

The Admiral, after this, gave up all thoughts of altering the general views of his son. He hoped only to be able to prevail upon him to give up certain peculiarities which appeared to have little to do with conscience, and to be used merely as the distinguishing marks of a sect. He therefore told his son that he would trouble him no more on the subject of his conversion, if he would only consent to take his hat off in his own presence, and in that of the king and the Duke of York. William, on receiving the proposition, desired time to consider of it. This agitated his father. He had no conception that the subject of his solicitation required thought. He became immediately suspicious, and told his son that he had only asked for time that he might consult his friends the Quakers. William assured his father that he would do no such

thing; and having pledged his word to this effect, he left him, and retired to his own chamber to pour out his soul in prayer for direction, and strength to follow it.

It will be asked by some, what necessity there could be, in a matter apparently so trivial, to retire either for serious meditation or for Divine help? In his view it was a question of principle, involving, as he believed, his obedience to God, and nothing of this character was too small to be carefully regarded by a mind divinely awakened, as was his. Uncovering the head is the mode by which Friends, in conformity with the practice of the primitive Christians, indicated their reverence to the Supreme Being, when they approached Him in the solemn act of prayer; and as they believed that the pride of man induced him to claim it as a token of respect to himself, they therefore felt themselves conscientiously restrained from giving it.

The custom, moreover, leads to repeated acts of insincerity as an expression of respect which often is not felt or deserved. It is often a sign of flattery which hurts both giver and receiver, and leads to making distinctions on account of social position between those who are equally worthy in the Divine sight.

William Penn loved his father and respected him. He was sensible of the duty he owed him as a parent, but he was equally sensible of a superior duty to God. He was made to feel that his peace of mind and religious growth were dependent upon his faithfulness, and found himself compelled to inform his father that he could not accede to his request. This he did with expressions of the greatest tenderness and affection, as well as of filial submission. The Admiral heard his answer, but could

not bear it. Unable to gain the least concession from his son, and in a point where he judged it impossible that persons bred up as gentlemen could disagree, he gave way to his anger, and in the violence of the blast which followed it, he once more turned him out of doors.

He was now thrown upon the wide world. Having no independent fortune of his own, and having been brought up to no trade or profession, he had not the means of getting his livelihood like other people. This sudden change from affluence to poverty could not but at first have affected him; but the thought of having broken the peace of mind, however innocently, of his father, and of being apparently at variance with him, was that which occasioned him the most pain. He is said to have borne his situation with great resignation, deriving support from the belief that they who left houses and parents for the kingdom of God's sake, should eventually reap their reward. He began, however, to find that even in his temporal state he was not deserted. His mother kept up a communication with him privately, furnishing him as well as she could from her own purse; and several kind friends administered also to his wants.

II.

ABOUT the year 1668, being then in the twenty-fourth year of his age, William Penn, having passed through many deep exercises and probations, both inwardly and outwardly; having parted with all that the world holds dear for Christ's sake, and been made a partaker of the powers of the world to come, a gift in the ministry of the gospel of life and salvation was dispensed to him by the head of the Church. Animated with an ardent concern for the everlasting welfare of his fellow-creatures, his heart warmed with divine love, and reaching forth in good will towards all without distinction of name or party, he became a zealous, indefatigable, and effectual laborer in the vineyard of his divine Master.

The following letter, written about this time to a young person of his acquaintance, will serve to show his solicitude for others, and his Christian plainness:

“NAVY OFFICE, 10th of the Fifth month, 1668.

“FRIEND:—It was a true word spoken by Jesus Christ to undeceive the careless, wanton Jews, among whom He manifested his glorious Truth, through that body prepared of God for that very end, that the way which leads to everlasting life and rest is straight and narrow. My friend, how much it concerns the welfare of thy immortal soul to reflect upon the course of life and way thou now

art walking in, before an evident stroke from heaven call thee hence, and send thy so much indulged flesh and blood into the grave.

“Well, my friend, this know, and by these shalt thou be judged, and in it I am clear, that as without holiness none can see God, so without subjection to that Spirit, Light, or Grace in the heart, which God in love hath made to appear to all, that teacheth to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; I say, without subjection hereunto, there is no attaining to that holiness which will give thee an entrance into his presence, in which is joy and pleasure forever. Examine thyself, how remote thou art from the guidings and instructions of this Spirit of grace, who canst countenance this age in frequenting their wicked and vain sports, plays, and entertainments, conforming thyself to ridiculous customs, and making one at idle talking, and vain jesting, wheresoever thou comest, not considering thou shalt account to God for every idle word. And let all thy frolicking associates know the day is hastening in which they shall not abide the presence of Him that sits upon the throne. It shall be a time of horror, amazement, and distress. Then shall they know there is a righteous, holy Judge of all.

“Retire from the noise and clatter of tempting visibles, to the beholding Him who is invisible, that He may reign in thy soul, God over all, exalted and blessed forever. Farewell. I am thy well-wishing, real friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

Almost as soon as he had identified himself with the

Society of Friends, he felt himself called to be a defender of their religious belief against public attacks. In this year Jonathan Clapham published a work called "A Guide to True Religion," in which he set forth certain articles as the true Christian creed, declaring all who did not assent to them incapable of salvation, and inveighing with severity against the doctrines of the Friends. William Penn in reply wrote "The Guide Mistaken," from which a few passages are taken.

"Thou must not, reader, from my querying thus, conclude we do deny (as he hath falsely charged us) those glorious three which bear record in heaven, the Father, Word, and Spirit, neither the Infinity, Eternity, and Divinity of Jesus Christ, for we know that He is the mighty God; nor what the Father sent his Son to do on the behalf of lost man; declaring to the whole world, we know no other name, by which atonement, salvation, and plentiful redemption comes; but by his name are, according to our measures, made sensible of its mighty power.

"His next accusation is, That they extol the light in all men, as the only sufficient rule to walk by, to the apparent slighting of Scriptures and preaching.

"Reader, if yet thou art a stranger to this Light, let me beseech thee once to observe it in thyself, and tell me then if it has not that divine quality to discern between the precious and the vile, and manifest every thought, word, and act; whether it is well-pleasing, or the contrary, to the great God? If it be criminal to own those Scriptures he falsely says we slight, the case is changed, otherwise, we all confess that God is light, and that He hath enlightened every man; by heeding and obeying the

dictates of which we may be preserved in that capacity, as the same Scripture says, which shall bring us into the pure fellowship, and that the blood of Jesus shall cleanse us from all sin. Nor do they own a principle in the clouds, but above all people, have demonstrated the power and authority of their principle by that redemption it has wrought for them, and the alteration it has made from that condition which nakedly exposed their immortal souls to the snares and entanglements of this world's perishing glories, to experience the blood which cleanseth from all iniquity, the unspeakable peace of perfect reconciliation with God.

“And for his confident affirming we slight both Scriptures and preaching, I have this to say, That as there is not any who discover more respect for them, by a conformity of life to what they require, so do they both read, and as often quote them in preaching or declaration as any who profess them for their rule.

“His fifth reflection is, Our openly denying the doctrine of the Trinity. But methinks it would become him who is reproving others for not paying that respect they ought unto the Scriptures, to be a little more exemplary in using their unquestionable phrase and sound expression, for I am altogether ignorant of any Scripture that mentions that word Trinity; yet if by Trinity he understands those three witnesses in heaven, Father, Word, and Spirit, he should have better acquainted himself with what we disown, than thus ignorantly to blaze abroad our open denial of what we most absolutely credit and believe.

“His next slander runs thus: The person of Jesus Christ, as to his human nature, with all his offices assigned

to Him by his Father, they utterly reject, though this is an arcanum that is kept hid from their novices.

“Fain would he here insinuate hard thoughts concerning an inoffensive people; whilst in reality they own no other name by which salvation is obtainable than the Christ of God; and all the offices that ever were assigned Him by his Father are by them acknowledged; and so remote are they from hiding their sentiments, that whosoever will but give himself the time of frequenting their meetings, or perusing their books, will soon perceive how very far this character is wide of truth.

“His next report is, we call not upon God in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ. But, reader, assure thyself, the Quakers never knew any other name than that of Jesus Christ, through which to find acceptance with the Lord; nor is it by any other than Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant, by whom they expect redemption, and may receive the promise of an eternal inheritance.

“He further says: They trust not in his death for pardon and salvation, but in a pretended sinless perfection.

“They are so far from disowning the death and sufferings of Christ that there is not a people on the earth that so assuredly witness and demonstrate a fellowship therewith, confessing before men and angels that Christ died for the sins of the world, and gave his life a ransom. Perfection from sin they hold attainable, because he that is born of God sins not, and that nothing which is unclean can enter the kingdom of God; no crown without victory; the little leaven leavens the whole lump; the strong man must be cast out. Paul prays they might be sanctified wholly; be ye perfect as God is perfect; be perfect, be of good com-

fort; unto a perfect man; as many as be perfect; that the man of God may be perfect; the God of peace make you perfect in every good work; the God of all grace make you perfect; let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God; leaving those things behind, let us go on unto perfection, and this will we do if God permit. If perfection were unattainable, it would be strange that the Scriptures should speak of such a state, and very preposterous that Paul, Peter, etc., should so solicit and pray for the ancient saints, that they might come thither, even to the spirits of just men made perfect; nay, he positively avouches to have arrived there, at the heavenly Jerusalem, at the church of the first-born, etc.

“The doctrine of the resurrection of the just and unjust, last judgment, heaven and hell, as future rewards; they believe and confess:—And, as my faithful testimony both to their life and doctrine, I declare, and be it known to all that ever knew me, that when the unspeakable riches of God’s love visited me, by the call of his glorious light, from the dark practices, wandering notions, and vain conversations of this polluted world, and that my heart was influenced thereby, and consequently disposed for the more intimate and sincere reception of it; those very habits, which once I judged impossible, whilst here, to have relinquished, and did allow myself a liberty therein, because not openly gross or scandalous, became not only burdensome, and by that light were manifested to be of another nature than that which I was called to the participation of; but in my faithful adherence to its holy counsel and instructions, I was immediately endued with a power that

gave dominion over them. And being in measure redeemed from that to which the curse is pronounced, I sensibly enjoyed the blessings that attended a reconciliation.

“And never since I have been conversant with their principles have I found one article that did not receive a full and satisfactory assent from that very grace, spirit, or light of God which first called me from the gross impieties, vain entertainments, tempting glories, and will-worships of this generation. As I have the seal of God’s eternal spirit of love upon my soul as an infallible assurance, so, since my first frequenting of them and their assemblies, I have observed that holy, innocent, and righteous conversation which harmonizes with the severity, circumspection, and self-denying life of the Gospel; and testify (as revealed from God) that since those centuries in which the apostasy eclipsed the beauty of the primitive light there has not been so glorious a discovery of spiritual, pure, and evangelical worship, life, and doctrine as God hath, in his loving-kindness, raised the so much despised Quakers to own, practise, and declare amongst the nations; as the good old way of holiness that leads from intemperance, vanity, pride, oppression, and the love of this world’s perishing glories, to that everlasting joy and rest which is reserved for the people of the most high God.

“In short, they are sound in principle, zealous for God, devout in worship, earnest in prayer, constant in profession, harmless and exemplary in their lives, patient in sufferings, orderly in their affairs, few in words, punctual in dealings, merciful to enemies, self-denying as to this world’s delights and enjoyments; and to sum up all, standards for the God of heaven, against the pride, cruelty, lust, avarice, etc., of

this godless generation, whom the unborn shall call blessed when their testimonies are finished, and they gathered into the unspeakable solace and possession of God's eternal presence."

About this time he attended the death-bed of Thomas Loe. This eminent minister, we may remember, had been the messenger of good to William Penn while at Oxford; and it was by his powerful ministry that he was afterwards convinced.

The following account of the last hours of his beloved and venerated friend is found in a letter of William Penn to Isaac Penington.

"I found him in readiness to depart. Friends, much affected, stood around his bed. When I came in and had set myself upon the bedside, so shook was he by the power of the Lord, and overcome by the ravishing glory of his presence, that it was wonderful to all the Friends. Taking me by the hand, he spoke thus: 'Dear heart, bear thy cross, stand faithful for God and bear thy testimony in thy day and generation; and God will give thee an eternal crown of glory that none shall ever take from thee. There is not another way. Bear thy cross. Stand faithful for God. This is the way the holy men of old walked in; and it shall prosper. God has brought immortality to light, and immortal life is felt in its blessedness. My heart is full. My cup runs over. Glory, glory to his name forever! Friends, keep your testimonies. Live to God and He will be with you. Be not troubled. The love of God overcomes my heart.'

"It effected more than all the outward potions given him; for it so enlivened his spirits and raised him that he

soon after got up and walked about, saying to us, 'Many times when I have seemed to be going the Lord has shined upon my tabernacle and raised it up.'

"But it was, then, the will of the Lord that, after all his labor, perils, and travels, he should there lay down his body amongst his ancient friends. He lay some time speechless, his spirit being centred; and at last he went away with great stillness, having finished his testimony, and left many demonstrations of his service and much fruit of his diligent labor. My soul loved him while living, and now bemoans his loss when dead. The day following, we laid the mortal part in the ground, it having done its Master's work."

About the same time William Penn was involved in a controversy which occasioned him no small share of trouble. The seventeenth century is known to have been a period remarkable for the dissensions which existed in England among the different professions of religion. An extraordinary interest in relation to the concerns of salvation seemed to be awakened, and many were earnestly seeking after the knowledge of the Truth as it is in Jesus. Public disputes on doctrinal subjects were very common, and were too often managed with an acrimony and rudeness inconsistent with that divine charity which is peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated. The Society of Friends, then in its infancy, had greatly increased in numbers, and attracted considerable attention. Its doctrines were but little understood and much misrepresented, and its members were therefore frequently engaged in defending themselves from the aspersions of their enemies, often in public disputes.

Two of the hearers of Thomas Vincent, the pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Spitalfields, going one day to a meeting of Friends, were convinced of the truth of their doctrines, and joined the Society. Vincent took offence at this, and showed his displeasure by charging the Society with entertaining "the most erroneous and damnable doctrines." William Penn, coming to the knowledge of these circumstances, demanded an opportunity of clearing the Society of the accusation where it had been made, and, after some difficulty, the promise of a conference in the Presbyterian meeting-house was obtained.

At the time named, he and George Whitehead came; but Thomas Vincent had taken care to have the house pre-occupied by his usual auditory, and had three of his clerical brethren to assist and support him in the expected discussion. As Friends had been publicly charged with holding erroneous and dangerous doctrines, George Whitehead attempted, soon after the opening of the meeting, to explain to the audience what their doctrines really were. To this Vincent objected, and insisted upon deducing their principles from their answers to such questions as he should propound to them. Being supported in his plan by the company, who were chiefly his own hearers, he began to catechise them.

The following syllogism, which Vincent used, may serve as a specimen of the mode of argument employed in that age of religious controversy.

"There are three that bear record in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.

"These are either three manifestations, three operations,

three substances, or three something else besides subsistences.

“But they are not three manifestations, three operations, three substances, nor three anything else besides subsistences.

“Ergo, three subsistences.”

George Whitehead desired an explanation of the terms, “inasmuch as God does not choose to wrap up his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but in plain language.”

A protracted and desultory discussion ensued, in which much was said but nothing settled. Many of the company behaved rudely, manifesting by their levity and abusive language, not only a want of religious sobriety, but of common civility. After the dispute, for such it soon became, had continued till late at night, Thomas Vincent suddenly fell to prayer, in the course of which he charged the Friends present with being blasphemers against God; and as soon as he had finished he requested the company to disperse, setting them the example by retiring with his three associates. As William Penn and George Whitehead had not obtained the desired opportunity of vindicating themselves and their principles, they disregarded this request, and a number of the company remaining together, although the candles had been put out, they spoke for some time in the dark in defence of their principles, and in reply to the charges which had been brought against them. Thomas Vincent, finding the company had not dispersed, returned to them, and urged a dismissal of the assembly. To this demand Friends acceded, upon his promising to afford them another meeting.

After waiting sometime for the fulfilment of his prom-

ise, William Penn and George Whitehead went to his meeting on a lecture day, and having waited till the service was over, requested an opportunity of clearing themselves from the aspersions which had been cast upon them. But Vincent would neither retract the charges he had made, nor afford them the opportunity of vindicating themselves.

William Penn, therefore, wrote in reply "The Sandy Foundation Shaken, or the generally believed doctrines of our Lord subsisting in three *distinct* and *separate persons*; the *impossibility* of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction; and the justification of *impure* persons by an imputative righteousness refuted."

Of this controversy and the essay which grew out of it we may observe, that the method Thomas Vincent adopted to establish his charges of erroneous doctrines against Friends was to bring them to deny some of those opinions which he and his fellow-professors held to be fundamental truths. The dispute, therefore, turned not so much on the doctrines of Friends, as upon those of the Presbyterians, or at least upon those which Thomas Vincent and his co-adjutors proposed. The object which William Penn designed to effect by the pamphlet in question, consequently, was to prove that the doctrines, as stated by his opponent, were not sound and scriptural, rather than to illustrate his own. He was then a young man about twenty-four years of age, had but recently become a professor in the Society of Friends, was well versed in the learning of the schools, possessed a very acute, discriminating mind, and having embraced the religion of the Quakers with all his heart, was full of zeal; it is therefore not surprising that he

followed his opponent upon the ground which he took, and exposed his absurdities and contradictions by arguments and illustrations, which have very little, if any, connection with the doctrines of Friends.

It may be fairly admitted that some of the arguments advanced partake more of the metaphysical than the evangelical character. But they were elicited by the questions and arguments of his opponents. In a subsequent period of his life we find William Penn expressing very clearly his disapprobation of the practice to which the theological disputants of that day were too much addicted, and of which the course pursued by Thomas Vincent and his coadjutors is a striking example.

Being intent upon the exposure of Thomas Vincent's notion of distinct and separate personality, he directed his attention in the body of the work strictly to that object. Yet, as if he was apprehensive that his manner of treating the subject might incur the imputation of denying the scriptural doctrine of the three that bear record in heaven, he distinctly repels this imputation in these words: "Mistake me not—we never have disowned a Father, Word, and Spirit, which are One; but men's inventions."

With regard to the other two subjects embraced in the title, it may be observed that the stress of the arguments lay in the impossibility of pardon being extended to sinners without a plenary and rigid satisfaction, and in the justification of sinners by imputed righteousness, while they continued in their sins. To these points William Penn directed his arguments without in the smallest degree invalidating the virtue or benefits to the penitent and returning sinner, of that most acceptable propitiatory sacrifice

which our Saviour offered upon the cross for the sins of mankind. This is apparent from the work itself, in which he quotes several passages of Scripture where this precious doctrine is clearly enforced; but also from the following extract from a letter which he wrote in reply to some exceptions taken to "The Sandy Foundation Shaken."

"I say that Jesus Christ was a sacrifice for sin, that He was set forth to be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world; to declare God's righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, etc., to all that repented and had faith in his Son. Therein the love of God appeared, that He declared his good will thereby to be reconciled; Christ bearing away the sins that are past, as the scape-goat did of old, not excluding inward work; for, till that is begun, none can be benefited, though it is not the work, but God's free love that remits and blots out, of which, the death of Christ, and his sacrificing of himself, was a most certain declaration and confirmation. In short, that declared remission, to all who believe and obey, for the sins that are past; which is the first part of Christ's work (as it is a king's to pardon a traitor, before he advanceth him), and hitherto the acquittance imputes a righteousness (inasmuch as men, on true repentance, are imputed as clean of guilt as if they had never sinned), and thus far justified; but the completing of this, by the working out of sin inherent, must be by the power and Spirit of Christ in the heart, destroying the old man and his deeds, and bringing in the new and everlasting righteousness. So, that which I writ against, is such doctrine as extended Christ's death and obedience, not to the first,

but this second part of justification ; not the pacifying [of] conscience, as to past sin ; but to complete salvation, without cleansing and purging, from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, by the internal operation of his holy power and Spirit."

The work when it was published gave great offence. Among the offended persons were some of the prelates, of whom the Bishop of London was the most conspicuous. By these men it was made a subject of public animadversion, and an order was procured for the arrest of the author, and his imprisonment in the Tower.

In his new habitation he was treated with great severity. He was not only kept in close confinement, but his friends were denied access to him. He was informed that the Bishop of London had resolved that he should either publicly retract his opinions or die a prisoner. He answered, "All is well. I wish they had told me so before, since the expecting of a release put a stop to some business ; thou mayst tell my father, who I know will ask thee, these words : that my prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot ; for I owe my conscience to no mortal man ; I have no need to fear, God will make amends for all ; they are mistaken in me ; I value not their threats and resolutions, for they shall know I can weary out their malice and peevishness, and in me they shall all behold a resolution above fear, conscience above cruelty, and a baffle put to all their designs by the spirit of patience, the companion of all the tribulated flock of the blessed Jesus, who is the author and finisher of the faith that overcomes the world, yea, death and hell, too. Neither great nor good things are ever attained without loss and hardships.

He that would reap and not labor, must faint with the wind and perish in disappointments; but an hair of my head shall not fall without the providence of my Father that is over all."

He wrote a letter to Sir Henry Bennett, Lord Arlington, then principal secretary of state, by whose warrant he was committed to prison. In this letter he denies the charges which had been brought against him, attributes the zeal shown by his persecutors to malice and ignorance, and requests that he may be restored to his liberty, as being imprisoned without just cause or proper examination of his case.

He says: "What if I differ from some religious apprehensions? Am I therefore incompatible with human societies? Shall it not be remembered with what success kingdoms and commonwealths have lived under the balance of divers parties?" "I know not any unfit for political society, but those who maintain principles subversive of industry, fidelity, justice, and obedience;" "but to conceit that men must form their faith of things proper to another world, according to the prescriptions of other mortal men of this, is both ridiculous and dangerous."

"The understanding can never be convinced by other arguments than what are adequate to its own nature. Force may make hypocrites, but it can make no converts." "If I am at any time convinced, I will pay the homage of it to truth, and not to base hypocrisy."

He requests the liberty of presenting his case to the king, and of clearing himself before him of the accusations of his enemies; and, finally, if that request should be denied, that Sir Henry Bennett himself would allow him

an opportunity of vindicating his innocence; but he adds, "I make no apology for my letter, as a trouble, the usual style of supplicants, because I think the honor that will accrue to thee by being just, and releasing the oppressed, exceeds the advantages that can succeed to me."

It appears that his commitment was altogether arbitrary—that he was detained as a state prisoner, and not even informed of the accusation on which his imprisonment was founded. His request to be brought before the king, or the secretary of state, to be informed of the offence laid to his charge, and permitted to vindicate his innocence, was disregarded. Having waited for some time in expectation of the desired opportunity, he resumed his pen, and produced a small tract, by way of apology or explanation of "The Sandy Foundation Shaken." This he entitled "Innocency with her open Face." In that tract he reviewed the subjects discussed in the former, and explained himself more clearly on some points which had been misunderstood.

Of the cause of his confinement, he remarks:

"That which I am credibly informed to be the greatest reason for my imprisonment, and that noise of blasphemy which hath pierced so many ears of late, is my denying the Divinity of Christ, and divesting Him of his eternal Godhead; which most busily hath been suggested, as well to those in authority as maliciously insinuated amongst the people." He then enters into an argument of considerable length, to prove the Godhead of Jesus Christ, which he thus concludes: "In short, this conclusive argument for the proof of Christ, the Saviour's, being God, should certainly persuade all sober persons of my inno-

cency, and my adversaries' malice. He that is the everlasting Wisdom, Divine Power, the true Light, the only Saviour, the creating Word of all things, whether visible or invisible, and their upholder by his own power, is, without contradiction, God; but all these qualifications, and Divine properties, are, by the concurrent testimonies of Scripture, ascribed to the Lord Jesus Christ; therefore, without a scruple, I call and believe Him really to be the mighty God."

On the other points, he says: "However positively I may reject my adversaries' unscriptural and imaginary satisfaction, let all know this, that I pretend to know no other name by which remission, atonement, and salvation can be obtained, but Jesus Christ, the Saviour, who is the power and wisdom of God." "As for justification by an imputed righteousness, I still say, that whosoever believes in Christ, shall have remission and justification; but then it must be such a faith as can no more live without works than a body without a spirit; wherefore I conclude that true faith comprehends evangelical obedience."

His belief is summed up in the following declaration: "I sincerely own, and unfeignedly believe, by virtue of the sound knowledge and experience received from the gift of that holy unction and Divine grace, inspired from on high, in one holy, just, merciful, Almighty, and eternal God, who is the Father of all things; who appeared to the holy patriarchs and prophets of old at sundry times and in divers manners; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the everlasting Wisdom, Divine Power, true Light, only Saviour and preserver of all; the same one holy, just, Almighty, and eternal God who in the fulness

of time took and was manifest in the flesh. At which time He preached, and his disciples after Him, the everlasting Gospel of repentance, and promise of remission of sins and eternal life to all that heard and obeyed; who said, 'He that is with you (in the flesh) shall be in you' (by the spirit); and though He left them as to the flesh, yet not comfortless, for He would come to them again, in the spirit: for a little while and they should not see Him as to the flesh; again a little while they should see Him in the spirit: for the Lord Jesus Christ is that Spirit, a manifestation whereof is given to every one to profit withal. In which Holy Spirit I believe as the same Almighty and eternal God; who, as in those times He ended all shadows, and became the infallible guide to them that walked therein; by which they were adopted heirs and co-heirs of glory; so am I a living witness, that the same holy, just, merciful, Almighty, and eternal God, is now, as then (after this tedious night of idolatry, superstition, and human inventions, that hath overspread the world), gloriously manifested to discover and save from all iniquity, and to conduct unto the holy land of pure and endless peace; in a word, to tabernacle among men. And I also firmly believe, that without repenting and forsaking of past sins, and walking in obedience to his heavenly voice, which would guide into all truth and establish there, remission and eternal life can never be obtained; but them that fear his name and keep his commandments, they, and they only, shall have right unto the tree of life."

Soon after the publication of this work the author was discharged from the Tower, after being detained there upon

terms of unusual severity. His discharge came suddenly from the king, who had been moved to it by the intercession of the Duke of York. Whether the father of William Penn applied to the duke for his interference, or whether the act was spontaneous on the part of the latter, is not now known. It is, however, understood that his enlargement was owing to the friendly offices of the duke. This and other acts of kindness are sufficient to explain the reason of William Penn's friendship for James when he became involved in trouble.

The following notes are from a fragment of Penn's autobiography, preserved in his own handwriting, and published in the memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania :

“The first time I went to court after I had embraced the communion I am of was in '68. The business that engaged me was the suffering condition of my Friends in several parts of this kingdom, the cause of it tenderness of conscience, no evil fact. Those in company with me were George Whitehead, Josiah Cole, and Thomas Loe. The person went to was the Duke of Buckingham; but an application at that time did not answer our expectation, though in his own inclination he favored liberty of conscience.

“The second time I went to court, was the same summer, and upon the same errand, in company of G. Whitehead and Josiah Cole. We addressed ourselves to Sir Henry Berwick, then Secretary of State, with whom our business had no better success than before. I was much toucht with the sense of our Friends' many and great hardships, and the more for that they were inflicted in a

Protestant country, and came from Protestant hands, and could not but think the severities they lay under, for mere conscience to God, must necessarily bring the very Protestant religion under scandal abroad. Being Protestants in all those points wherein the very Church of England might claim that title, and whose main point was a strict and holy life, this made it seem reasonable and requisite to me to make their sufferings and them better known to those in authority; charitably hoping that if they would give themselves the leisure to be truly informed of both, they would afford them better quarter in their own country than stocks, whips, gaols, dungeons, præmunires, fines, sequestrations, and banishment, for their peaceable dissent in matters relative to faith and worship; and accordingly I had framed a scheme to myself for that purpose. But it so fell out, that towards the close of that year I was made incapable of prosecuting the resolution I had taken, and the plan I had laid of this affair, by a close and long imprisonment in the Tower of London, for a book I writ called 'The Sandy Foundation Shaken,' occasioned by some reflections upon us and our principles by one Tho. Vincent, a dissenting minister, because some of his congregation inclined to be of our persuasion.

"I was committed the beginning of December, and was not discharged till the fall of the leaf following; wanting about fourteen days of nine months.

"As I saw very few, so I saw them but seldom, except my own father and Dr. Stillingfleet, the present Bishop of Worcester. The one came as my relation, the other at the king's command, to endeavor my change of judgment. But as I told him, and he told the king, that the Tower

was the worst argument in the world to convince me; for whoever was in the wrong, those who used force for religion never could be in the right; so neither the Doctor's arguments, nor his moving and interesting motives of the king's favor and preferment, at all prevailed; and I am glad I have the opportunity to own so publicly the great pains he took and humanity he showed, and that to his moderation, learning, and kindness I will ever hold myself obliged."

III.

WHILE imprisoned in the Tower, William Penn wrote a work entitled "NO CROSS, NO CROWN," from which we take some passages illustrative of its character.

READER:—The great business of man's life is to answer the end for which he lives, that is, to glorify God and save his own soul. As one knowing the terrors of the Lord, I persuade thee to be serious, diligent, and fervent about thy own salvation. As one knowing the comfort, peace, joy, and pleasure of the ways of righteousness I exhort and invite thee to embrace the reproofs and convictions of Christ's light and spirit in thine own conscience, and bear the judgment of thy sin. The fire burns but the stubble; the wind blows only the chaff. Yield thy body, soul, and spirit to Him who maketh all things new—new heavens and new earth, new love, new joy, new peace, new works, a new life and conversation.

Christ's cross is Christ's way to Christ's crown. This is the subject of the following discourse, first written during my confinement in the Tower of London in the year 1668, now reprinted with great enlargement of matter and testimonies, that thou mayest be won to Christ, or if won already, brought nearer to Him. It is a path which God in his everlasting kindness guided my feet into, in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years

of age. He took me by the hand and led me out of the pleasures, vanities, and hopes of the world. I have tasted of Christ's judgments, and of his mercies, and of the world's frowns and reproaches. I rejoice in my experience, and dedicate it to thy service in Christ.

THOUGH THE knowledge and obedience of the doctrine of the cross of Christ be of infinite moment to the souls of men, being the only door to true Christianity and the path which the ancients ever trod to blessedness, yet it is little understood, much neglected, and bitterly contradicted, by the vanity, superstition, and intemperance of professed Christians.

The unmortified Christian and the heathen are of the same religion, and the deity they truly worship is the god of this world. What shall we eat? What shall we drink? What shall we wear? And how shall we pass away our time? Which way may we gather wealth, increase our power, enlarge our territories, and dignify and perpetuate our names and families in the earth? It is a mournful reflection, but a truth which will not be denied, that these worldly lusts fill up a great part of the study, care, and conversation of Christendom.

The false notion that they may be children of God while in a state of disobedience to his holy commandments, and disciples of Jesus though they revolt from his cross, and members of his true church, which is without spot or wrinkle, notwithstanding their lives are full of spots and wrinkles, is of all other deceptions upon themselves the most pernicious to their eternal condition. For they are at peace in sin and under a security in their transgression.

Their vain hope silences their convictions, and overlays all tender motions to repentance; so that their mistake about their duty to God is as mischievous as their rebellion against Him. Thus they walk on precipices and flatter themselves, till the grave swallows them up and the judgment of the great God breaks the lethargy.

O Christendom! my soul most fervently prays that after all thy lofty professions of Christ and his meek and holy religion, thy unsuitable and unchristlike life may not cast thee at that great assize of the world and lose thee this great salvation at last. Can Christ be thy Lord and thou not obey Him? He is none of thy Saviour whilst thou rejectest his grace in thy heart, by which He would save thee. Has He saved thee from thy sinful lusts, thy worldly affections, and vain conversations? If not, then He is none of thy Saviour. For though He be offered a Saviour for all, yet He is actually a Saviour to those only who are saved by Him; and none are saved by Him who live in those evils by which they are lost from God, and which He came to save them from.

It is from sin that Christ is come to save man, and from death and wrath as the wages of it. So far as people obtain victory over those evil dispositions and fleshly lusts to which they have been addicted, so far they are truly saved, and are witnesses of the redemption that comes by Jesus Christ. His name shows his work: "And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for He shall save his people from their sins." "Behold," said John of Christ, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world!"

BECAUSE THERE is mercy with the God of compassion, that He may be feared, He has sent forth his Son, a pro-

pitiation, and given Him a Saviour to take away the sins of the whole world, that those who believe and follow Him may feel the righteousness of God in the remission of their sins, and the blotting out of their transgressions forever. Behold the remedy! an infallible cure, one of God's appointing.

But thou wilt say, what is Christ, where is He to be found, and how received, and applied, in order to this mighty cure? First, He is the great spiritual Light of the world, who enlightens every one that comes into the world; by which He manifests to them their deeds of darkness and wickedness, and reproves them for committing them. Secondly, He is not far away from thee. Christ himself says, "Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me." What door can this be, but that of the heart of man? Like the inn of old thou hast been full of other guests; there has been no room for thy Saviour in thy soul. Wherefore salvation is not yet come into thy house, though it is come to thy door, and thou hast often been proffered it, and hast professed it long.

Wherefore, O Christendom! believe, receive, and apply to Him rightly; this is of absolute necessity, that thy soul may live forever with Him. He told the Jews, "If you believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins; and whither I go, ye cannot come." So I say to thee, unless thou believest that He who stands at the door of thy heart and knocks, and sets thy sins in order before thee, and calls thee to repentance, be the Saviour of the world, thou wilt die in thy sins, and where He is gone,

thou wilt never come. For if thou believest not in Him, it is impossible that He should do thee good, or effect thy salvation. Christ works not against faith, but by it.

It is the nature of true faith to beget an holy fear of offending God, a deep reverence for his precepts, and a most tender regard to the inward testimony of his Spirit, as that by which his children, in all ages, have been safely led to glory. Those who receive Him thus, receive power to become the sons of God; that is, an inward force and ability to do whatever He requires. Strength to mortify their lusts, control their affections, resist evil motions, deny themselves, and overcome the world in its most enticing appearances. This is the life of the blessed cross of Christ, which is the subject of the following discourse, and what thou, O man, must take up, if thou intendest to be the disciple of Jesus. Nor canst thou be said to receive Christ, or believe in Him, whilst thou rejectest his cross. For as receiving Christ is the means appointed of God to salvation, so bearing the daily cross after Him is the only true testimony of receiving Him; and, therefore, it is enjoined by Him as the great token of discipleship, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." This, Christendom, is what thou hast so much wanted, and the want of it has proved the cause of thy miserable declension from pure Christianity.

The work of apostleship, we are told by a prime laborer in it, was to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. For this blessed work of reformation, Christ endued his apostles with his spirit and power, that so men might no longer sleep in a security of

sin, and ignorance of God, but awaken to righteousness, that the Lord Jesus might give them life. And truly God so blessed the faithful labors of these poor mechanics, his great ambassadors to mankind, that, in a few years, many thousands who had lived without God in the world, were inwardly struck and quickened by the word of life, and made sensible of the coming and power of the Lord Jesus Christ as a Judge and Lawgiver in their souls.

By his holy light and Spirit, the hidden things of darkness were brought to light and condemned, and pure repentance from those dead works begotten in them, that they might serve the living God in newness of spirit. Thenceforward they lived not to themselves, neither were they carried away of those former lusts by which they had been seduced from the true fear of God; and by holy watchfulness against the secret motions of evil in their hearts, they crushed sin in its conception, yea, in its temptations. So that, as the apostle John advises, they kept themselves, that the evil one touched them not. Thus it was, that where once nothing was examined, nothing went unexamined. Every thought must come to judgment, and the rise and tendency of it be well approved before they allowed it any room in their minds.

While this integrity dwelt with Christians, mighty was the presence, and invincible the power, that attended them. It quenched fire, daunted lions, turned the edge of the sword, out-faced instruments of cruelty, convicted judges, and converted executioners. Now, not a vain thought, nor an idle word, nor an unseemly action, was permitted; no; not an immodest look. No courtly dress, gay apparel, complimentary respects, or personal honors; much less could

those lewd immoralities and scandalous vices, now in vogue with Christians, find either example or connivance among them. Their care was, not how to sport away their precious time, but how to redeem it, that they might have enough to work out their great salvation with fear and trembling. Having, with Moses, seen Him that is invisible, and found that his loving-kindness was better than life, and the peace of his Spirit than the favor of princes; as they feared not Cæsar's wrath, so they chose rather to sustain the afflictions of Christ's true pilgrims than to enjoy the pleasures of sin, that were but for a season; esteeming his reproaches of more value than the perishing treasures of the earth.

By this short view of what Christendom was, thou mayest see, O Christendom, what thou art not, and what thou oughtest to be. I lay this down as the undoubted reason of this degeneracy, to wit: the disregard of thy mind to the light of Christ shining in thee, that first showed thee thy sins, and reprovèd them, and taught and enabled thee to deny and resist them. So when thou didst begin to disregard that light and grace, to be careless about that holy watch that was once set up in thine heart, and didst not keep sentinel there as formerly for God's glory and thy own peace, the restless enemy of man's good quickly took advantage of this slackness.

Thou didst decline to audit accounts in thy own conscience with Christ, thy light, the great bishop of thy soul, and judge of thy works, whereby the holy fear decayed and love waxed cold, vanity abounded and duty became burdensome. Then up came formality instead of the power of godliness, superstition in place of Christ's institution, and, although Christ's business was to draw off the minds

of his disciples from an outward temple, and carnal rites and services, to the inward and spiritual worship of God, suitable to the nature of divinity, a worldly, human, pompous worship is brought in again, and a worldly priesthood, temple, and altar re-established. Those worldly pleasures, that make such as love them forget God, though once despised for the sake of Christ, began now to recover their old beauty and interest in thy affections. Thy heart growing carnal, thy religion did so too; and, not liking it as it was, thou fashionedst it to thy liking. So that a man may say with truth, thy condition is made worse by thy religion, because thou art tempted to think thyself the better for it and art not.

At the door by which thou wentest out thou must come in; and as letting fall and forbearing the daily cross lost thee, so taking up and enduring the daily cross must recover thee. No crown but by the cross, no life eternal but through death. And it is but just that those evil and barbarous affections that crucified Christ afresh should by his holy cross be crucified. Blood requires blood; his cross is the death of sin, that caused his death; and He is the death of death, according to that passage, O death! I will be thy death!

THE CROSS OF Christ is a figurative speech, borrowed from the wooden cross, on which Christ submitted to the will of God. The cross mystical is that divine grace and power which crosses the carnal wills of men, their corrupt affections and fleshly appetites; and so may be justly termed the instrument of man's holy dying to the world, and being made conformable to the will of God.

The preaching of the cross was fitly called by Paul the

power of God, though to them that perish, it was then, as now, foolishness. That is, to those who were truly weary and heavy laden, and needed a deliverer, to whom sin was burdensome and odious; the preaching of the cross by which sin was to be mortified, was the power of God, or a preaching of the divine power, by which they were made disciples of Christ and children of God. But to those who walked in the broad way, in the full latitude of their lusts, and dedicated their time and care to the pleasure of their corrupt appetites, to whom all yoke and bridle were intolerable, the preaching of the cross was foolishness.

Where does this cross appear, and where must it be taken up? I answer, within: that is, in the heart and soul. The heart of man is the seat of sin, and where he is defiled, he must be sanctified; and where sin lives, there it must die, it must be crucified. The enemy's temptations are ever directed to the mind, which is within. If they take not, the soul sins not; if they are embraced, lust is presently conceived, that is, inordinate desires; "lust conceived, brings forth sin; and sin finished, that is, acted, brings forth death."

In the next place, how, and in what manner, is the cross to be daily borne? The way, like the cross, is spiritual. It is an inward submission of the soul to the will of God, as it is manifested by the light of Christ in the consciences of men, though it be contrary to their own inclinations. The way is narrow indeed, and the gate very strait, where not a word, no, not a thought, must slip the watch, or escape judgment. Such circumspection, such caution, such patience, such constancy, such holy fear and trem-

bling, give an easy interpretation to that hard saying, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." Those who are captivated with fleshly lusts and affections, for they cannot bear the cross; and they that cannot endure the cross, must never have the crown.

THE GREAT WORK and business of the cross of Christ in man is self-denial, a word of much depth in itself, and of sore contradiction to the world, little understood, but less embraced by it, which yet must be borne. The Son of God is gone before us, and by the bitter cup He drank, and the baptism He suffered, has left us an example that we should follow his steps.

What was the cup He drank, and baptism He suffered? I answer: they were the denial and offering up of himself by the eternal Spirit to the will of God, undergoing the tribulations of his life and agonies of his death upon the cross for man's salvation.

What is our cup and cross that we should drink and suffer? They are the denying and offering up of ourselves, by the same spirit, to do or suffer the will of God for his service and glory. This is the true life and obedience of the cross of Jesus; narrow still, but before, an unbeaten way. When there was none to help, not one to open the seals, to give knowledge, or to direct the course of poor man's recovery, He came in the greatness of his love and strength; and though clothed with the infirmities of a mortal man, being within fortified by the Almightyness of an immortal God, he travelled through all the straits and difficulties of humanity; and, first of all others, trod the untrodden path to blessedness.

It is this most perfect pattern of self-denial we must

follow, if ever we will come to glory. To do this, let us consider self-denial in its true distinction and extent. There is a lawful and an unlawful self, and both must be denied for the sake of Him who, in submission to the will of God, counted nothing dear that He might save us.

The lawful self which we are to deny, is that convenience, ease, enjoyment, and plenty, which in themselves are so far from being evil, that they are the bounty and blessings of God to us—as husband, wife, child, house, land, reputation, liberty, and life itself. These are God's favors, which we may enjoy with lawful pleasure, and justly improve as our honest interest. But when God requires them, at what time soever, or is pleased to try our affections by our parting with them; I say, when they are brought in competition with Him, they must not be preferred, but denied. Christ himself descended from the glory of his Father, and willingly made Himself of no reputation among men, that He might make us of some with God.

It is the doctrine He teaches us in these words: "He that loveth father or mother, son or daughter, more than me, is not worthy of me." It is the condition to eternal happiness: "He that will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me."

It is not for nought that the disciples of Jesus deny themselves; and, indeed, Christ himself had the eternal joy in his eye. For the joy that was set before Him, says the author to the Hebrews, He endured the cross. "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold,

and shall inherit everlasting life." It is this recompense of reward, this eternal crown of righteousness which, in every age, has raised in the souls of the just an holy neglect, yea, contempt of the world.

Nor is this a new doctrine; it is as old as Abraham. God often touches our best comforts, and calls for that which we most love, and are least willing to part with. Not that He always takes it utterly away, but to prove the soul's integrity, to caution us from excesses, and that we may remember Him, the Author of those blessings we possess, and live loose to them. I speak my experience. The way to keep our enjoyments is to resign them; and though that be hard, it is sweet to see them returned, as Isaac was to his father, with more love and blessings than before.

THAT UNLAWFUL self in religion; which ought to be mortified by the cross of Christ, is man's invention and performance of worship to God, as divine, which is not so, either in its institution or performance. In this great error, those people take the lead, who attribute to themselves the name of Christians, and are most exterior, pompous, and superstitious in their worship. Instead of excluding flesh and blood, behold a worship calculated to gratify them; as if the business were not to present God with a worship to please Him, but to make one to please themselves. A worship dressed with stately buildings and imagery, rich furniture and garments, rare voices and music, costly lamps, wax candles, and perfumes.

Christ drew off his disciples from the glory and worship of the outward temple, and instituted a more inward and spiritual worship, in which He instructed his follow-

ers. God is a spirit, and He will be worshipped in spirit and in truth. It is not that bodily worship, nor these ceremonious services in use among you now, that will serve, or give acceptance with this God who is a spirit.

God's presence is not with the house, but with them that are in it, who are the Gospel church and not the house. Oh! that such as call themselves Christians knew but a real sanctity in themselves, by the washing of God's regenerating grace instead of that imaginary sanctity ascribed to places; they would then know what the church is, and where, in these evangelical days, is the place of God's appearance. This made the prophet David say, "The king's daughter is all glorious within; her clothing is of wrought gold." What is the glory that is within the true church, and that gold which makes up that inward glory? Tell me, oh, superstitious man! is it thy stately temples, altars, carpets, tables, tapestries; thy vestments, organs, voices, candles, lamps, censers, plate, and jewels, with the like furniture of thy worldly temples?

Nor is a recluse life, the boasted righteousness of some, much more commendable, or one whit nearer to the nature of the true cross. The Christian convent and monastery are within, where the soul is encloistered from sin. And this religious house the true followers of Christ carry about with them, who exempt not themselves from the conversation of the world, though they keep themselves from the evil of the world in their conversation.

The inward, steady righteousness of Jesus is another thing than all the contrived devotion of poor superstitious man; and to stand approved in the sight of God excels that bodily exercise in religion resulting from the invention

of men. The soul that is awakened and preserved by his holy power and Spirit, lives to Him in the way of his own institution, and worships Him in his own Spirit; that is, in the holy sense, life, and leadings of it, which, indeed, is the evangelical worship. Not that I would be thought to slight a true retirement; for I do not only acknowledge, but admire, solitude. Christ himself was an example of it; He loved and chose to frequent mountains, gardens, sea-sides. It is requisite to the growth of piety; and I reverence the virtue that seeks and uses it, wishing there were more of it in the world; but then it should be free, not constrained. For divine pleasures are found in a free solitude.

It is not performing duties of religion, but the rise of the performance that God looks at. Men may, and some do, cross their own wills in their own wills, voluntary omission or commission. Not keeping to the manner of taking up the cross in worship, as well as other things, has been a great cause of the troublesome superstition that is yet in the world.

True worship can only come from a heart prepared by the Lord. And whatever prayer be made, or doctrine be uttered, and not from the preparation of the Holy Spirit, it is not acceptable with God; nor can it be the true evangelical worship which is in spirit and truth; that is, by the preparation and aid of the Spirit. For what is a heap of the most pathetic words to God Almighty, or the dedication of any place or time to Him? He is a spirit, to whom words, places, and times, strictly considered, are improper or inadequate. Though they be the instruments of public worship, they are but bodily and visible, and

cannot carry our requests any further, much less recommend them to the invisible God. They are for the sake of the congregation; it is the language of the soul God hears; nor can that speak but by the Spirit, or groan aright to Almighty God without the assistance of it.

But it may be asked, how shall this preparation be obtained? I answer, by waiting patiently, yet watchfully and intently, upon God. "Lord," says the Psalmist, "thou hast heard the desire of the humble; thou wilt prepare their heart; thou wilt cause thine ear to hear." Thou must not think thy own thoughts, nor speak thy own words, which, indeed, is the silence of the holy cross, but be sequestered from all the confused imaginations that are apt to throng and press upon the mind in those holy retirements. Think not to overcome the Almighty by the most composed matter cast into the aptest phrase. No; one groan, one sigh, from a wounded soul, an heart touched with true remorse, a sincere and godly sorrow, which is the work of God's Spirit, excels and prevails with God. Wherefore, stand still in thy mind, wait to feel something divine, to prepare and dispose thee to worship God truly and acceptably. Thus taking up the cross, and shutting the doors and windows of the soul against everything that would interrupt this attendance upon God, how pleasant soever the object be in itself, or however lawful or needful at another season, the power of the Almighty will break in, his Spirit will prepare the heart, that it may offer up an acceptable sacrifice. It is He that discovers to the soul its wants, and presses them upon it; and when it cries, He alone can supply them. Petitions not springing from such a sense and preparation, are formal and fictitious;

they are not true ; for men pray in their own blind desires, and not in the will of God ; and his ear is stopped to them. But for the very sighing of the poor, and crying of the needy, God has said He will arise.

But what is this to them that are not hungry ? The whole need not the physician ; the full have no need to sigh, nor the rich to cry for help. Those who are not sensible of their inward wants, that have no fears and terrors upon them, who feel no need of God's power to help them, nor the light of his countenance to comfort them ; what have such to do with prayer ? Their devotion is, at best, but a serious mockery of the Almighty. They know not, they want not, they desire not, what they pray for. They pray that the will of God may be done, and do constantly their own. They ask for grace, and abuse what they have ; they pray for the Spirit, but resist it in themselves, and scorn at it in others. They request the mercies and goodness of God, and feel no real want of them. In this inward insensibility, they are as unable to praise God for what they have as to pray for what they have not.

God himself speaks, by the mouth of Isaiah, in opposition to the formalities and lip-worship of the degenerate Jews. " Thus saith the Lord, the heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool ; where is the house that ye build to me, and where is the place of my rest ? for all these things hath my hand made. But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word." Behold the true worshipper ! one of God's preparing, circumcised in heart and ear, that resists not the Holy Spirit, as those lofty professing Jews did.

Much might be cited to show the displeasure of God against even his own forms of worship, when performed without his Spirit, and that necessary preparation of the heart in man, which nothing else can work or give. Above all other penmen of sacred writ, this is most frequently and emphatically recommended to us by the example of the Psalmist, who, ever and anon, calling to mind his own great slips, and the cause of them, and the way by which he came to be accepted of God, and obtain strength and comfort from Him, reminds himself to wait upon God. "Lead me in thy truth, and teach me, for thou art the God of my salvation; on thee do I wait all the day long." This shows an inward exercise, a spiritual attendance, that stood not in external forms, but on inward divine aid.

Another time, we have him crying thus: "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God; when shall I come and appear before Him?" This goes beyond formality, and can be tied to no lesson. We may by this see that true worship is an inward work; that the soul must be touched and raised in heavenly desires by the heavenly spirit, and that the true worship is in God's presence. "When shall I come and appear?" Not in the temple, nor with outward sacrifices, but before God, in his presence. The souls of true worshippers see God, make their appearance before Him; and for this they wait, they pant, they thirst.

From his own experience of the benefit of waiting upon God, and the saints' practice of those times, he recommends it to others: "Wait upon the Lord, be of good courage, and He shall strengthen thy heart; wait, I say, upon the

Lord." ' Wait in faith and patience, and He will come to save thee. Again, " Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently upon Him ;" cast thyself upon Him ; be contented ; and wait for Him to help thee in thy wants. Thou canst not think how near He is to help those that wait upon Him.

The prophet Isaiah tells us that though the chastisements of the Lord were sore upon the people for their backslidings, yet in the way of his judgments, in the way of his rebukes and displeasure, they waited for Him, and the desire of their soul, that is the great point, was to his name, and the remembrance of Him. They were contented to be chid and chastised, for they had sinned ; and the knowledge of Him in this way was very desirable to them. But did He not come at last, and that in mercy, too ? " Lo, this is our God, we have waited for Him, and He will save us." O blessed enjoyment ! O precious confidence ! Here was a waiting in faith which prevailed.

All worship not in faith is fruitless to the worshipper as well as displeasing to God. This faith is the gift of God, and the nature of it is to purify the heart, and give such as truly believe " victory over the world." But they go on : " We have waited for Him, we will be glad, and rejoice in his salvation." The prophet adds, " Blessed are all they that wait upon God : " and why ? " For they that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength ; they shall never faint, never be weary." The encouragement is great O hear Him once more ! " For since the beginning of the world, men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God ! besides thee, what He hath prepared for him that waiteth for Him "

Behold the inward life and joy of the righteous, the true worshippers ! those whose spirits bowed to the appearance of God's spirit in them, leaving and forsaking all that it appeared against, and embracing whatever it led them to.

"We know not," says the apostle, "what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit helpeth our infirmities." Men unacquainted with the work and power of the Holy Spirit, are ignorant of the mind of God ; and those, certainly, can never please Him with their prayers. It is not enough to know we are in want ; but we should learn, whether it be not sent us as a blessing ; disappointments to the proud ; losses to the covetous, and to the negligent, stripes. Therefore, what to keep, what to reject, what to want, is a difficulty God only can resolve the soul. And since God knows better than we what we need, He can better tell us what to ask than we can Him. This made Christ exhort his disciples to avoid long and repetitious prayers ; telling them that their heavenly Father knew what they needed before they asked. He therefore gave them a pattern to pray by ; not as some fancy to be a text to human liturgies, which of all services are most justly noted and taxed for length and repetition ; but expressly to reprove and avoid them.

How to pray is still of greater moment than to pray ; it is not the request, but the frame of the petitioner's spirit. God needs not to be told of our wants by us, He must tell them to us ; yet He will be told them from us, both that we may seek Him, and that He may come down to us. But when this is done, To this "man will I look, saith the Lord, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my word." To the sick

heart, the wounded soul, the hungry and thirsty, the weary and heavy-laden ones; such sincerely want an helper.

Christ often upbraided his disciples with, "O ye of little faith!" Yet He tells us that one grain of it, though as little as that of mustard, one of the least of seeds, if true and right, is able to remove mountains. And to encourage his disciples to believe, when they were admiring how soon his sentence was executed upon the fruitless fig-tree, He tells them, "Verily, if ye have faith, and doubt not, ye shall not only do this which is done to the fig-tree, but also, if ye shall say unto this mountain, be thou removed and cast into the sea, it shall be done; and all things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive."

But some may say, it is impossible to receive all that a man may ask. It is not impossible to receive all that a man, that so believes, can ask. The fruits of faith are not impossible to those who truly believe in God, who makes them possible. When Jesus said to the ruler, "If thou canst believe," He adds, "all things are possible to him that believeth." But some will say, it is impossible to have such faith. This very faithless generation would excuse their want of faith by making it impossible to have the faith they want. But Christ's answer to the infidelity of that age will best confute the disbelief of this. "The things that are impossible with men, are possible with God." It will follow, then, that it is not impossible with God to give that faith; though it is certain that "without it, it is impossible to please God;" for so the author to the Hebrews teaches. And if it be

impossible to please God, it must be so to pray to God, without this precious faith.

But some may say, What is this faith that is so necessary to worship, and that gives it such acceptance with God, and returns that benefit to men? I say, it is an holy resignation to God, and confidence in Him, testified by a religious obedience to his holy requirings, which gives sure evidence to the soul of the things not yet seen, and a general sense and taste of the substance of those things that are hoped for; that is, the glory which is to be revealed hereafter. As this faith is the gift of God, so it purifies the hearts of those that receive it. The apostle Paul is witness, that it will not dwell but in a pure conscience; he, therefore, in one place couples a pure heart and faith unfeigned together; in another, faith and a good conscience. James joins faith with righteousness, and John with victory over the world. "This," says he, "is the victory which overcomes the world, even your faith." To this faith no man comes, but through death to self, by the cross of Jesus, and an entire dependence, by Him, upon God. By it the holy ancients endured all trials, overcame all enemies, prevailed with God, renowned his Truth, finished their testimony, and obtained the reward of the faithful, a crown of righteousness, which is the eternal blessedness of the just.

THE CARE AND love of all mankind are either directed to God or themselves. Those that love God above all, are ever humbling self to his commands, and only love self in subserviency to Him who is Lord of all. But those who are declined from that love to God, are lovers of themselves more than God; for supreme love must centre

in one of these two. To that inordinate self-love, the apostle rightly joins pride and high-mindedness. For no sooner had the angels declined their love, duty, and reverence to God, than they inordinately loved and valued themselves; which made them exceed their station, and aspire above the order of their creation. This was their pride, and this sad defection their dismal fall; who are reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day of God.

Pride began the misery of mankind. Adam would needs be wiser than God had made him. It did not serve his turn to know his Creator, and give Him that holy homage to which his being and innocency naturally engaged and excited him; nor to have an "understanding above all the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea;" joined with a power to rule over all the visible creation of God. He must be as wise as God, too. The lamentable consequence of this great defection has been, an exchange of innocency for guilt, and a paradise for a wilderness.

Nor is this limited to Adam; for all who have fallen short of the glory of God, are right-born sons of his disobedience. They, like him, have eaten of what has been forbidden; they have "committed the things they ought not to have done, and left undone the things they ought to have done." They have sinned against that divine light of knowledge which God has given them, they have grieved his Spirit, and that dismal sentence has been executed, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt die." That is, when thou doest the thing which thou oughtest not to do, thou shalt no more live in my favor, and enjoy

the comforts of the peace of my Spirit. This is a dying to all those innocent and holy desires and affections with which God created man ; and he becomes as one cold and benumbed, insensible of the love of God, of his Holy Spirit, power, and wisdom ; of the light and joy of his countenance ; of the evidence of a good conscience, and the co-witnessing and approbation of God's Holy Spirit.

The true knowledge came with the joy of angels, singing "peace on earth, and good-will towards men ;" the false knowledge entertained the message with calumnies. Christ must needs be an imposter, because He cried out against their hypocrisy, the broad phylacteries, the honor they sought of men. The truth is, He came to level their honor, to overthrow their rabbiship, and by his grace to bring the people to that inward knowledge of God which they, by transgression, were departed from. Their pride in false knowledge having made them incapable of receiving the simplicity of the Gospel, Christ thanks his Father that He hid the mystery of it from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes.

It is observable, that as pride, which is ever followed by superstition and obstinacy, put Adam upon seeking an higher station than God placed him in ; and as the Jews, out of the same pride, in order to outdo their pattern, given them to God by Moses upon the mount, set their post by God's post, and taught for doctrines their own traditions ; so nominal Christians have introduced, instead of a spiritual worship and discipline, that which is evidently ceremonious and worldly ; with such innovations and traditions of men as are the fruit of the wisdom that is from below.

And as this unwarrantable pride set them first at work to pervert the spirituality of Christian worship, making it rather to resemble the shadowy religion of the Jews and the gaudy worship of the Egyptians, than the plainness and simplicity of the Christian institution; so has the same pride and arrogancy spurred them on, by all imaginable cruelties, to maintain this great Diana. Almost every history tells us, with what pride and cruelty, blood and butchery, and unusual and exquisite tortures, they have persecuted the holy members of Christ, out of the world.

PRIDE DOES extremely crave power, than which nothing has proved more troublesome and destructive to mankind. I need not labor myself much in evidence of this, since most of the wars of nations, depopulation of kingdoms, ruin of cities, with the slavery and misery that have followed, both our own experience and unquestionable histories acquaint us to have been the effect of ambition, which is the lust of pride after power. A very trifle is too often made a ground of quarrel; nor can any league be so sacred or inviolable that arts shall not be used to evade and dissolve it to increase dominion. No matter who nor how many are slain, or made widows and orphans, or lose their estates and livelihoods; what countries are ruined, what towns and cities spoiled, if by all these things the ambitious can but arrive at their ends. But ambition does not only dwell in courts and senates, it is natural to every private breast to strain for power. We daily see how much men labor with their utmost wit and interest to be great, to get higher places or greater titles than they have, that they may look bigger and be more acknowledged.

Great is their peace who know a limit to their ambitious minds, have learned to be contented with the appointments and bounds of Providence, and are not careful to be great, but being great are humble and good. Such keep their wits with their consciences, and with an even mind can at all times measure the uneven world, rest fixed in the midst of all its uncertainties, and, as becomes those who have an interest in a better inheritance, in the good time and will of God cheerfully leave this, when the ambitious, conscious of their evil practices and weighed down to their graves with guilt, must go to a tribunal which they can neither awe nor bribe.

Pride loves power, that she might have homage and that every one may give her honor; and such as are wanting in this expose themselves to her anger and revenge.

What envy, quarrels, and mischiefs have happened among private persons upon conceit that they have not been respected according to their degree of quality among men, with hat, knee, or title, even duels and murders not a few. In France (before I professed the communion I am now of) I was myself once set upon about eleven at night, as I was walking to my lodging, by a person who waylaid me with his naked sword in his hand, and demanded satisfaction of me for taking no notice of him at a time when he civilly saluted me with his hat, though the truth was I saw him not when he did it. Suppose he would have killed me, for he made several passes at me, or I in my defence had killed him when I disarmed him (as the earl of Crawford's servant who was by saw). I ask any man of understanding or conscience if the whole

round of ceremony were worth the life of a man, considering the dignity of his nature and the importance of his life, both with respect to God his Creator, himself, and the benefit of civil society?

And here give me leave to set down the reason more particularly why I and the people with whom I walk in religious society have declined, as vain and foolish, several worldly customs and fashions of respect much in request at this time of day.

The first and most pressing motive upon our spirits to decline the practice of these customs of pulling off the hat, bowing the body or knee, and giving people gaudy titles and epithets in our salutations and addresses was that sight and sense which God, by his light and Spirit, has given us of the Christian world's apostasy from God, and the cause and effects of that great and lamentable defection. In the discovery of this the sense of our state came first before us, and we were made to see Him whom we had pierced, and to mourn for it. A day of humiliation overtook us, and we fainted to that pleasure and delight we once loved. Now our works went beforehand to judgment, a thorough search was made, and the words of the prophet became well understood by us: "Who can abide the day of his coming, and who shall stand when He appears? He is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's soap."

The brightness of his coming to our souls discovered, and the breath of his mouth destroyed, every plant He had not planted in us. He was a swift witness against every evil thought and every unfruitful work, and, blessed be his name, we were not offended in Him or at

his righteous judgments. Now it was that a grand inquest came upon our whole life. Every word, thought and deed was brought to judgment, the root examined and its tendency considered. "The lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life" were opened to our view, the mystery of iniquity in us. By knowing the evil leaven and its divers evil effects in ourselves, how it had wrought and what it had done, we came to have a sense and knowledge of the states of others; and what we could not, nay, dare not, live and continue in ourselves, as being manifested to us to proceed from an evil principle in the time of man's degeneracy, we could not comply with in others. I say, and that in the fear and presence of the all-seeing, just God, the honors and respect of the world among other things became burdensome to us. We saw they had no being in paradise, that they grew in the night-time, and came from an evil root, and that they only delighted a vain and ill mind, and that much pride and folly were in them.

Though it be frequently objected that we seek to set up outward forms of preciseness, and that it is but as a green ribbon, the badge of the party, to be better known, I do declare, in the fear of Almighty God, that these are but the imaginations and vain constructions of men, who have not had that sense, which the Lord hath given us, of what arises from the right and the wrong root in man. And when such censurers of our simplicity shall be inwardly touched and awakened by the mighty power of God, and see things as they are in their proper natures and seeds, they will then know their own burden, and easily acquit us, without the imputation of folly or hypocrisy herein.

To such as say that we strain at small things, which becomes not people of so fair pretensions to liberty and freedom of spirit, I answer, with meekness, truth, and sobriety, first, nothing is small which God makes matter of conscience to do or leave undone. Next, inconsiderable as they are made by those who object to our practice, they are so greatly set by, that for our not giving them, we are beaten, imprisoned, refused justice, etc., to say nothing of the derision and reproach which have been frequently flung at us on this account.

A reason why we decline and refuse the present use of these customs in our addresses and salutations, is from the consideration of their very emptiness and vanity; that there is nothing of true honor and respect in them, supposing them not to be evil. We declare to the whole world that we are for true honor and respect. We honor the king, our parents, our masters, our magistrates, our landlords, one another; yea, all men, after God's way, used by holy men and women of old time; but we refuse their customs as vain and deceitful, not answering the end they are used for.

We cannot esteem bows, titles, and pulling off of hats to be real honor, because such like customs have been prohibited by God, his Son, and servants in days past.

A Scripture instance I shall urge against these customs is a passage in Job, thus expressed: "Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person; neither let me give flattering titles unto man, for I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my Maker would soon take me away." The question that will arise upon the allegation of this Scripture is this, viz.: What titles are flattering? The

answer is as obvious, namely: Such as are empty and fictitious, and make him more than he is. To call a man what he is not to please him, or to exalt him beyond his true name, office, or desert, to gain upon his affection, who, it may be, lusteth to honor and respect. Such as these, most excellent, most sacred, your grace, your lordship, most dread majesty, right honorable, right worshipful, calculated only to please and tickle poor, proud, vain, yet mortal man. Likewise, to call man what he is not, as my lord, my master, etc., and wise, just, or good, when he is neither, only to please him or to show him respect.

It was common to do thus among the Jews under their degeneracy, wherefore one came to Christ and said: "Good master, what shall I do to have eternal life?" It was a salutation or address of respect in those times. But what was Christ's answer? How did He take it? "Why callest thou me good?" says Christ; "there is none good save one, that is God." He rejected it, who had more right to keep it than all mankind. And why? Because though there was no one greater than He, yet He saw the man addressed it to his manhood, after the way of the times, and not to his divinity which dwelt within it. Therefore He refused it, instructing us that we should not give such epithets and titles commonly to men. For good being due alone to God and godliness, it can only be said in flattery to fallen man, and therefore sinful to be so said.

It should and ought to suffice with Christians, that these customs are severely censured by the great Lord and Master of all their religion. He tells us what that honor was they gave and received, which He condemns them for, and of which He bids the disciples of his humility and cross to

beware. His words are these, and He speaks them not of the rabble, but of the doctors, the great men, the men of honor among the Jews: "They love the uppermost rooms at feasts," that is, places of greatest rank and respect; "greetings," that is, salutations of respect, such as pulling off the hat, and bowing the body are in our age; "in the market-places," viz., in the places of note and concourse, the public walks and exchanges of the country; and lastly, "They love to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi," one of the most eminent titles among the Jews. A word comprehending an excellency equal to many titles, it may stand for your grace, your lordship, right reverend father, etc. It is upon these men of breeding and quality, that he pronounces his woes, making these practices some of the motives of his threatening against them. But He leaves it not here; He pursues this very point of honor, above all the rest, in his caution to his disciples, to whom He gave in charge thus: "But be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren. Neither be ye called masters; but he that is greatest among you shall be your servant, and whosoever shall exalt himself, shall be abased." These passages carry a severe rebuke, both to worldly honor in general and to those members and expressions of it in particular which, as near as the language of Scripture and customs of that age will permit, do distinctly reach and allude to those of our own time.

There is another piece of non-conformity to the world, and that is, thou for you, and that without difference or respect to persons, which to some looks so rude it cannot well go down without derision or wrath. But as we have

the same original reason for declining this as the foregoing customs, so I shall add what to me looks reasonable in our defence.

Though the world be divided into many nations, each of which, for the most part, has a peculiar language, speech, or dialect, yet have they ever concurred in the same number and persons as much of the ground of right speech. Which undeniable grammatical rule might be enough to satisfy any that we are not beside reason in our practice. It is plain that thou is the only proper word to be used in all languages to a single person, because otherwise all sentences, speeches, and discourses may be very ambiguous, uncertain, and equivocal.

But some will tell us custom should rule us, and that is against us. It is easily answered, and more truly, that though in things reasonable or indifferent custom is obliging or harmless, yet in things unreasonable or unlawful she has no authority. I know words are nothing but as men give them a value or force by use. But, then, if you will discharge thou and that you must succeed in its place, let us have a distinguishing word in room of you to be used in speech to many. But to use the same word for one and many when there are two, and that only to please a proud and haughty humor in man, is not reasonable in our sense, which, we hope, is Christian, though not modish.

If thou to a single person be improper or uncivil, God himself, all the holy fathers and prophets, Christ Jesus and his apostles, the primitive saints, and all languages throughout the world are guilty. It is a most extravagant piece of pride in a mortal man to require or expect

from his fellow-creature a more civil speech or grateful language than he is wont to give the immortal God, his Creator, in all his worship to Him. Canst thou approach the God of thy breath and great judge of thy life with thou and thee, and when thou risest off thy knees scorn a Christian for giving to thee, poor mushroom of the earth, no better language than thou hast given to God but just before?

My friends, whatever you think, your plea of custom will find no place at God's tribunal. The light of Christ in your own hearts will overrule it, and this spirit, against which we testify, shall then appear to be what we say it is. Say not I am serious about slight things, but beware you of levity and rashness in serious things. To us, whom God has brought into a spiritual discerning of the nature and ground of the world's fashions, they appear to be fruits of pride and flattery, and we dare not continue in such vain compliances to earthly minds, lest we offend God and burden our consciences. And this know, from the sense God's Holy Spirit hath begotten in us, that that which requires these customs, and begets fear to leave them, and pleads for them, and is displeased if they are not used and paid, is the spirit of pride and flattery in the ground, though frequency, use, or generosity may have abated its strength in some.

The eternal God who is great amongst us, and is on his way in the earth to make his power known, "will root up every plant that his right hand hath not planted." It was extremely irksome to me to decline and expose myself; but having an assured and repeated sense of the original of these vain customs, that they rise from pride,

self-love, and flattery, I dared not gratify that mind in myself or others. And for this reason it is, that I am earnest with my readers to be cautious how they reprove us on this occasion, and do once more entreat them that they would seriously weigh in themselves whether it be the spirit of the world or of the Father, that is so angry with our honest, plain, and harmless thou and thee; that so every-plant that God, our heavenly Father, hath not planted in the sons and daughters of men, may be rooted up.

PRIDE EXCITES people to an excessive value and care of their persons. They must have great and punctual attendance, stately furniture, rich and exact apparel, all which help to make up that pride of life that John tells us "is not of the Father, but of the world." That people are generally proud of their persons, is too visible and troublesome, especially if they have any pretence either to blood or beauty. The one has raised many quarrels among men, and the other among women, and men, too, often, for their sakes and at their excitements. What matter is it of whom any one is descended that is not of ill-fame, since his own virtue must raise or his vice depress him? To be descended of wealth and titles fills no man's head with brains, or heart with truth; those qualities come from a higher cause.

Oh, says the person proud of blood, it was never a good world since we have had so many upstart gentlemen. But what should others have said of that man's ancestor when he started up first into the knowledge of the world? Strange, that they should be more noble than their ancestor, who got their nobility for them. But if this be

absurd, as it is, then the upstart is the noble man; the man who got it by his virtue, and those only are entitled to his honor who are imitators of his virtue, the rest may bear his name from his blood, but that is all.

But personal pride ends not in nobility of blood. It leads folks to a fond value of their persons, be they noble or ignoble, especially if they have any pretence to shape or beauty.

Art thou shapely, comely, beautiful, the exact draught of an human creature? Admire that Power that made thee so. Live an harmonious life to the curious make and frame of thy creation; and let the beauty of thy body teach thee to beautify thy mind with holiness, the ornament of the beloved of God. Art thou homely or deformed? With the grace that is given unto thee, for it has appeared unto all, learn to adorn thy soul with enduring beauty. Remember the King of heaven's daughter, the church of which true Christians are members, is all glorious within; and if thy soul excel, thy body will only set off the lustre of thy mind.

What folly, as well as irreligion, is there in pride? It cannot add one cubit to any man's stature. What crosses can it hinder? What disappointments help or what harm frustrate? It delivers not from the common stroke. Sickness disfigures, pain mis-shapes, and death ends the proud man's fabric. Six feet of cold earth bounds his big thoughts, and his person, which was too good for any place, must at last lodge within the strait limits of so little and so dark a cave; and he who thought nothing well enough for him is quickly the entertainment of the lowest of all animals, even worms themselves. The proud man's antiquity cannot

secure him from death, nor his heraldry from judgment. Titles of honor vanish at this extremity, and no power or wealth, no distance or respect can rescue or insure them. As the tree falls it lies, and as death leaves men judgment finds them.

TRULY IT is a reproach to a man, especially the religious man, that he knows not when he hath enough, or when to leave off and be satisfied. That notwithstanding God sends him one plentiful season of gain after another, he is so far from making that the cause of withdrawing from the traffic of the world that he makes it a reason of launching farther into it, as if the more he hath the more he may have. This is as if cumber, not retirement, and gain, not content, were the duty and comfort of a Christian. It is plain that most people strive not for substance, but wealth. Some there be who love it strongly and spend it liberally when they have got it. Though this be sinful, yet more commendable than to love money for money's sake. This is one of the basest passions the mind of man can be captivated with.

Thousands think themselves unconcerned in the caution who yet are perfectly guilty of the evil. How can it be otherwise when those that have, from a low condition, acquired thousands labor yet to advance, yea, double and treble those thousands. Is this to live comfortably or to be rich? It hurts society, for old traders keep the young ones poor. And the great reason why some have too little, and so are forced to drudge like slaves to feed their families and keep their chin above water, is because the rich hold fast, and press to be richer, and covet more, which dries up the little streams of profit from smaller folks

'There should be a standard both as to the value and time of traffic, and then the trade of the master to be shared among his servants who deserve it. This were both to help the young to get their livelihood and to give the old time to think of leaving this world well, in which they have been so busy, that they might obtain a share in the other, of which they have been so careless.

Man was made a noble, rational, grave creature. His pleasure stood in his duty, and his duty in obeying God, which was to love, fear, adore, and serve Him, and in using the creation with true temperance and godly moderation, as knowing well that the Lord his judge was at hand, the inspector and rewarder of his works. In short, his happiness was in his communion with God; his error was to leave that conversation and let his eyes wander abroad to gaze on transitory things. The best recreation is to do good; and all Christian customs tend to temperance and some good and beneficial end, which more or less may be in every action.

Redeem then the time, for the days are evil and yours but very few. Therefore gird up the loins of your minds, be sober, fear, watch, pray, and endure to the end, calling to mind, for your encouragement and consolation, that all such as through patience and well-doing wait for immortality shall reap glory, honor, and eternal life in the kingdom of the Father, whose is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen.

The discourse is illustrated with many interesting recitals of the example and sayings of self-denying men and women of all ages of the world.

IV.

AT the time when William Penn was discharged from his confinement in the Tower, his father's asperity towards him was considerably softened. The mortification which he felt on discovering that his son was firmly united to the Society of Friends, then almost universally vilified and despised, must have rendered him averse to an open reconciliation. Yet the severity with which he saw him treated, the malicious efforts which were used to destroy his reputation, and the tedious imprisonment to which he had been subjected, could hardly fail to excite his sympathy; while the patience with which he sustained his complicated trials, the firmness with which he maintained his principles, and the innocent boldness with which he vindicated his character, excited his respect, and tended to satisfy his father both of the sincerity of his intentions and the soundness of his religious principles. He allowed him to reside at his own house, though he did not see him, and caused it to be signified to him, through his mother, that he might return to Ireland to execute a commission for him. He accordingly left London, and arrived at Cork in the Eighth month of 1669.

In the fragment of autobiography before alluded to, he says: "Within six weeks after my enlargement (from the Tower) I was sent by my father to settle his estate in Ireland, when I found those of that kingdom under too

general persecution, and those of the city of Cork almost all in prison ; and the jail by that means became a meeting-house and a workhouse, for they would not be idle anywhere. I was sorry to see so much sharpness from English to English, as well as Protestants to Protestants, when their interests were civilly and nationally the same, and their profession of religion fundamentally so too. Having informed myself of their case, and the grounds of this severity, as near as they could inform me, (which, without doubt, was at least as much from envy about trade as zeal for religion,) I adjourned all private affairs to my return from Dublin, whither, in a few days, I went post, and after conferring with my friends at that city, and digesting the whole into a general state of our case, I went with two or three of them to the castle." Here his narrative ends ; but it is known that he went to Dublin, and attended the National Meeting of Friends, which was held at his lodgings. At that meeting an account of the sufferings of Friends was prepared, which, a few days afterwards, he presented to the lord-lieutenant.

During his continuance in Ireland, he usually resided either at Dublin or Cork. His sympathy with those who were suffering on account of their religion led him often to visit those who were in prison, and to hold meetings among them. He also wrote several tracts to promote the cause of religion, one of which was "A Letter to the Young Convinced." Some idea of the spirit of this production may be formed from the following extracts :

"In the tender love of Jesus Christ, I earnestly entreat you, let us no more look back upon our ancient pastimes

and delights, but with holy resolution press on, press on; for they will steal away our precious souls, beget new desires, raise the old life, and finally ensnare and pollute our minds again; and what will be the end of such rebellion but woes and tribulations from the hand of the just God, world without end. Neither let us enter into many reasonings with opposers, for that is the life which God's power is revealed to slay; it is the still, the quiet, and the righteous life which must be exalted over all. And this I say in a sound understanding, through the mercies of the Lord, that deadness, darkness, and anguish of spirit will be the end of such disputing, pragmatical Christians whose religion consists much more in words than works, confessing than forsaking, and in their own will-performances and external observations, than in the reformation and conversion of their souls to God. And we who have known something more of the Lord may also reduce our good conditions to an utter loss by seeking to comprehend dubious matters in our understandings, and disputing about them with every opposer whom the devil, in a way of temptation, shall present to us; which does no way advance our growth and increase in the noble principle of Truth.

“And I beseech you, my dear friends, let not the fear of any external thing overcome the holy resolution we have made to follow the Lamb, Christ Jesus, through all the tribulations, trials, and temptations He and his followers meet with. Oh, let us be valiant in God's cause on earth, who have but a few days to live. Let the constancy of the world to the momentary fashions, pleasures, and pollutions of it, the more ardently stir us up to express

ours for the honor of our God against them all, who will reward us for whatsoever we bear, suffer, or part with on his account. Let neither father nor mother, sister nor brother, wife nor child, house nor land, liberties nor life itself, deter us from our holy constancy. Let us, however, be careful to show all due respect to our relations, not to be exalted or any way unruly, lest there be just cause taken against us, and the blessed Truth should suffer; but, in the still, retired, holy, and patient life, which this pure Spirit of light and truth certainly brings into, let us all dwell and abide.

“And, as one who is a traveller in his way, I beseech you all, in the holy awe of God, that you never forbear meeting and assembling yourselves with the holy remnant amongst whom we first received our blessed conviction. Let us be grave, weighty, and temperate, keeping low in body as well as mind, that in all things we may be examples, and a sweet savor for God, who hath loved and called us. And, my dear friends, keep in the simplicity of the cross of Jesus, even in plainness of speech, and out of the world’s flattering and deceitful respects; for we are as well to be a cross in our garb, gaits, dealings, and salutations, as religion and worship, to this vain, adulterated, and apostatized generation. In the pure measure of Truth that has been manifested to every particular, and has convinced us of the unrighteousness of the world, and the vanity and emptiness of all its professions of God, Christ, and religion, let us stand and abide, that we may feel it to be our refuge and strong tower when the enemy shall approach, either by inward exercises or outward bonds and suffering, which may overtake us for the trial of our

most precious faith; so shall we sensibly experience that heavenly blood of cleansing which only can give remission, cleanse from all sin, and finally purge the conscience from dead works to serve the living God."

Having accomplished his visit in regard to his father's business, and rendered a number of signal services to his friends in Ireland, he returned to his native land. His father was now fully reconciled to him. Though the Admiral was only about forty-nine, yet his constitution had been so much impaired by the hardships of a seafaring life, and exposure to a variety of climates, that he was then sinking under the infirmities of premature old age.

In the year 1670 the famous Conventicle Act was passed by Parliament, which prohibited dissenters from worshipping God in their own way. It had been first suggested by some of the bishops. The chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury had previously printed a discourse against toleration, in which he asserted as a main principle that it would be less injurious to the Government to dispense with profane and loose persons than to allow a toleration to religious dissenters. "This act," says Thomas Ellwood, "brake down and overran the bounds and banks anciently set for the defence and security of Englishmen's lives, liberties, and properties, namely, trials by jury, instead thereof directing and authorizing justices of the peace (and that, too, privately out of sessions) to convict, fine, and by their warrants distrain upon offenders against it, directly contrary to the Great Charter."

It was impossible that an act like this could pass without becoming a source of new suffering to William Penn situated as he then was, first, as a minister of the Gospel,

and, secondly, as a man who always dared to do what he thought to be his duty. Accordingly he was one of the earliest victims to its decrees; for, going as usual with others of his own religious society to their meeting-house in Gracechurch Street to perform divine worship, they found it guarded by a band of soldiers. Being thus hindered from entering it, they stopped for a while about the doors. Others who came up joined the former and stopped also, so that in a little time there was a considerable assembly on the spot. By this time William Penn felt himself called upon to preach; but he had not advanced far in his discourse when he and William Mead were seized by constables, who produced warrants signed by Sir Samuel Starling, then lord mayor, for that purpose. The constables after they had seized them conveyed them to Newgate, where they were lodged, that they might be ready to take their trial at the next session of the Old Bailey.

This arrest was made known next morning to Admiral Penn by the following letter :

“MY DEAR FATHER:—This comes by the hand of one who can best allay the trouble it brings. As true as ever Paul said it, such as live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution; so for no other reason am I at present a sufferer. Yesterday I was taken by a band of soldiers with one Captain Mead and in the evening carried before the mayor; he proceeded against me according to the ancient law; he told me I should have my hat pulled off, for all I was Admiral Penn’s son. I told him I desired to be in common with others, and sought no refuge from

the common usage. I discoursed with him about the hat, but he avoided it. Because I did not readily answer him as to my name, William, when he asked me in order to a mittimus, he bid his clerk write one for Bridewell, and there he would see me whipped himself, for all I was Penn's son that starved the seamen. I told him I could very well bear his severe expressions concerning myself, but was sorry to hear him speak those abuses of my father that was not present; at which the assembly seemed to murmur. In short, he committed that person and me as rioters; and at present we are at the sign of the Black Dog, in Newgate market.

"And now, dear father, be not displeased nor grieved, what if this be designed of the Lord for an exercise of our patience. I am very well, and have no trouble upon my spirits besides my absence from thee at this juncture.

"Well, eternity which is at the door (for He that shall come will come, and will not tarry)—that will make amends for all. The Lord God everlasting console and support thee by his holy power, and preserve thee to eternal rest and glory. Amen.

"Thy faithful and obedient son,

"My duty to my mother.

WILLIAM PENN."

On the first of the Ninth month the trial came on. The indictment stated among other falsehoods that the prisoners had preached to an unlawful, seditious, and riotous assembly; that they had assembled by agreement made beforehand; and that they had met together with force and arms, and this to the great terror and disturbance of many of His Majesty's liege subjects. The prisoners

were brought to the bar, and pleaded not guilty to the indictment. The Court was then adjourned.

On the third of the month, William Penn and William Mead were brought again into Court. One of the officers as they entered pulled off their hats. Upon this the Lord Mayor became furious, and in a stern voice ordered him to put them on again. This being done, the Recorder fined each of the prisoners forty marks, observing that the circumstance of being covered there amounted to a contempt of Court.

The witnesses were then called in and examined. It appeared from their testimony that on the fifteenth of August between three and four hundred persons were assembled in Gracechurch Street, and that they saw William Penn speaking to the people, but could not distinguish what he said. One, and one only, swore that he heard him preach; but on further examination he said that he could not on account of the noise understand any one of the words spoken. With respect to William Mead, it was proved that he was there also, and that he was heard to say something; but nobody could tell what. This was in substance the whole of the evidence against them.

It appears probable that the arrest was made in consequence of the Conventicle Act, then recently passed, but a prosecution upon that act was not sufficient to gratify the malice of the mayor and his associates. The mayor chose to commit them as rioters, and the indictment was apparently framed with a view to involve them and their case in the intricacies of the unwritten law, and to subject them to such penalty as the malice of the Court might prescribe. The definition of an unlawful assembly would

appear to have been borrowed from the Conventicle Act; for in the fourth section of that act, meetings for religious purposes, not according to the liturgy of the Church of England, are reckoned unlawful assemblies, yet we have no account that this act was quoted or referred to during the trial. The jury were urged to convict William Penn of preaching to an unlawful assembly, without being informed what constituted such an assembly, or what penalty would be awarded. The fact of his speaking to a number of people in the street being established, if the jury could have been induced to decide that he was speaking to a tumultuous assembly, the Court would unquestionably have put their own construction upon it, and decided that the penalty as well as the offence was to be found in the *lex non scripta*.

The witnesses having finished their testimony, William Penn acknowledged that both he and his friend were present at the place and time mentioned. "We are so far," says he, "from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that we declare to all the world that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God, who made us."

These words were scarcely pronounced when Brown, one of the sheriffs, exclaimed that he was not there for worshipping God, but for breaking the law. William Penn replied that he had broken no law, and desired to know by what law it was that they prosecuted him, and upon what law it was that they founded the indictment.

The Recorder replied, the common law. William asked where that law was. The Recorder did not think it worth while, he said, to run over all those adjudged cases for so many years, which they called common law, to satisfy his curiosity. William Penn thought if the law were common, it should not be so hard to produce. He was then desired to plead to the indictment; but on delivering his sentiments on this point, he was pronounced a saucy fellow. The following is a specimen of some of the questions and answers at full length, which succeeded those now mentioned:

Recorder.—The question is, whether you are guilty of this indictment.

W. Penn.—The question is not, whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal. It is too general and imperfect an answer to say it is the common law, unless we know where and what it is; for where there is no law, there is no transgression; and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all.

Recorder.—You are an impertinent fellow. Will you teach the Court what law is? It is *lex non scripta*, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment?

W. Penn.—Certainly, if the common law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being very common; but if the Lord Coke in his Institutes be of any consideration, he tells us that common law is common right, and that common right is the Great Charter privileges confirmed.

Recorder.—Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not to the honor of the Court to suffer you to go on.

W. Penn.—I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me, though the rights and privileges of every Englishman are concerned in it.

Recorder.—If I should suffer you to ask questions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiser.

W. Penn.—That is according as the answers are.

Recorder.—Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all night.

W. Penn.—I design no affront to the Court, but to be heard in my just plea; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law which you say I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your arbitrary designs.

Recorder.—Take him away. My Lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do anything to-night.

Mayor.—Take him away. Take him away. Turn him into the bale-dock.

W. Penn.—These are but so many vain exclamations. Is this justice or true judgment? Must I, therefore, be taken away, because I plead for the fundamental laws of England? However, this I leave upon the consciences of you, who are of the jury, and my sole judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and which are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensably maintained and observed, who can say he hath a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly our liberties are to be openly invaded, and our estates led away in triumph by

every malicious informer The Lord of heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter.

Recorder.—Be silent, there.

W. Penn.—I am not to be silent in a case where I am so much concerned; and not only myself, but many ten thousand families besides.

Soon after this they hurried him away, as well as William Mead, who spoke also, towards the bale-dock, a filthy, loathsome dungeon. The Recorder then proceeded to charge the jury. But William Penn hearing a part of the charge as he was retiring stopped suddenly, and raising his voice exclaimed aloud, "I appeal to the jury who are my judges, and this great assembly, whether the proceedings of the Court are not most arbitrary, and void of all law in endeavoring to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners. I say it is directly opposite to and destructive of the undoubted right of every English prisoner, as Coke on the chapter of Magna Charta speaks." Upon this some conversation passed between the parties who were still distant from each other; after which the two prisoners were forced to their cells.

Being now out of all hearing, the jury were ordered to agree upon their verdict. Four, who appeared visibly to favor the prisoners, were abused, and actually threatened by the Recorder. They were then all of them sent out of Court. On being brought in again they delivered their verdict unanimously, which was, "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street."

The magistrates upon the bench now loaded the jury with reproaches. They refused to take their verdict, and

immediately adjourned the Court, sending them away for half an hour to reconsider it.

The time having expired, the Court sat again. The prisoners were then brought to the bar, and the jury again called in. The latter having taken their place delivered the same verdict as before, but with this difference, that they then delivered it in writing, with the signature of all their names.

The magistrates were now more than ever enraged at the conduct of the jury, and they did not hesitate to express their indignation at it in terms the most opprobrious in open Court. The Recorder then addressed them as follows: "Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict such as the Court will accept; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco; you shall not think thus to abuse the Court; we will have a verdict by the help of God, or you shall starve for it."

William Penn, upon hearing this address, immediately spoke as follows: "My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced; their verdict should be free and not compelled; the Bench ought to wait upon them, and not to forestall them. I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the Bench may not be made the measure of my jury's verdict."

Other words passed between them; after which the Court was about to adjourn, and the jury to be sent to their chamber, and the prisoners to their loathsome hole, when William Penn observed that the agreement of twelve men was a verdict in law; and such a verdict having been given by the jury, he required the clerk of the peace to record it, as he would answer it at his peril; and if the

jury brought in another verdict contrary to this he affirmed that they would be perjured in law. Then turning to the jury he said additionally, "You are Englishmen. Mind your privilege. Give not away your right."

The Court swore several persons to keep the jury all night without meat, drink, fire, tobacco, or any other accommodation whatsoever, and then adjourned till seven the next morning.

The next morning, which was the First day of the week, the jury were again called in, but they returned the same verdict as before. The Bench now became outrageous, and indulged in the most vulgar and brutal language, such indeed as would be almost incredible, if it were not upon record. The jury were again charged, and again sent out of Court; again they returned, again they delivered the same verdict, again they were threatened. William Penn having spoken against the injustice of the Court in having menaced the jury, who were his judges by the Great Charter of England, and in having rejected their verdict, the Lord Mayor exclaimed, "Stop his mouth, gaoler; bring fetters, and stake him to the ground." William Penn replied, "Do your pleasure; I matter not your fetters." The Recorder observed, "Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them; and certainly it will never be well with us till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." Upon this the jury were ordered to withdraw to find another verdict; but they refused, saying they had already given it, and that they could find no other. The Sheriff then forced them away. Several persons were immediately sworn to keep them

without any accommodation as before, and the Court adjourned till seven the next morning.

The next day the jury, who had received no refreshments for two days and two nights, were again called in and the business resumed. The Court demanded a positive answer to these words, "Guilty or not guilty?" The foreman of the jury, Edward Bushell, replied, "Not guilty." Every jurymen was then required to repeat this answer separately. This he did to the satisfaction of almost all in Court. The following address and conversation then passed.

Recorder.—Gentlemen of the jury, I am sorry you have followed your own judgments rather than the good advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands! But for this the Court fines you forty marks a man, and imprisonment till paid.

W. Penn.—I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury.

Mayor.—No. You are in for your fines.

W. Penn.—Fines for what?

Mayor.—For contempt of Court.

W. Penn.—I ask if it be according to the fundamental laws of England that any Englishman should be fined or amerced but by the judgment of his peers or jury, since it expressly contradicts the fourteenth and twenty-ninth chapters of the Great Charter of England, which says "No freeman shall be amerced but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage."

Recorder.—Take him away.

W. Penn.—I can never urge the fundamental laws of England but you cry, "Take him away;" but it is no wonder, since the Spanish Inquisition has so great a place

in the Recorder's heart. God, who is just, will judge you for all these things."

These words were no sooner uttered than William Penn and his friend, William Mead, were forced into the baledock, from whence they were sent to Newgate. Every one of the jury also were sent to the latter prison.

Thus ended this famous trial, which was sustained by William Penn with so much ability at the age of twenty-five.

A few days afterwards he wrote to Admiral Penn:

"DEAR FATHER:—I desire thee not to be troubled at my present confinement; I could scarce suffer on a better account nor by a worse hand, and the will of God be done. It is more grievous and uneasy to me that thou should be so heavily exercised, God Almighty knows, than any worldly concernment. I am cleared by the jury; and they are here in my place, and resolved to lie till they get out by law. Every six hours they demand their freedom by advice of counsel.

"They (the Court) have so overshot themselves that the generality of people much detest them. I entreat thee not to purchase my liberty.

"I desire in fervent prayer the Lord God to strengthen and support thee, and to anchor thy mind in thoughts of the immutable blessed state which is over all perishing concerns.

"I am, dear father, thy obedient son,
WILLIAM PENN."

The next day he wrote:

“DEAR FATHER:—I am truly grieved to hear of thy present illness. If God, in his holy will, did see meet that I should be freed, I could heartily embrace it; yet, considering I cannot be free but upon such terms as strengthen their arbitrary and base proceedings, I rather choose to suffer any hardship.

“I am not without hope that the Lord will sanctify the endeavors of thy physician unto a cure, and then much of my solicitude will be at an end. Solace thy mind in the thoughts of better things, dear father.”

There had never been in England, up to this period, a settled and defined usage with regard to verdicts. Judges had sometimes fined inconvenient and persistent juries, and it had practically been an undetermined question how far they had a right to bring in verdicts contrary to the views of the court. This great point was now to be decided. Suit was brought by Edward Bushell and his fellow jurors against Sir Samuel Starling, the Lord Mayor, and Sir John Howell, the Recorder of London, for illegal imprisonment.

The Court of Common Pleas adopted the view that the bench, though at liberty to offer suggestions to the jury-men for their consideration, may not lawfully coerce them; and confirmed the doctrine of Lord Coke, that the jury, and not the judge, were the arbiters in regard to facts; and that the province of the judge was to point out and apply the law to such facts as are found by the jury. The issue of the trial was that the prisoners were ordered to be discharged.

This celebrated trial was productive of important bene-

ficial results to the people of England. It awakened their attention to the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of the courts under the pretended sanction of law, by which the most flagrant violations of justice were often practised with impunity. The able and undaunted manner in which the prisoners contended for their rights and liberties, and the noble stand made by the jurors against the rude and shameless attempts of the Court to browbeat and intimidate them, opened the eyes of the people to their true interests, and the necessity of claiming their chartered privileges; and thus the trial was instrumental in establishing them on a firmer basis than they ever were before; the freedom of juries being now asserted by a solemn judicial decision.

Admiral Penn was fast descending to the grave, and very desirous of the company and consolation of his son; he therefore did not choose to wait the tardy operation of the law, but privately sent the money and procured the discharge of both the prisoners. Foreseeing that his son must often be subjected to inconvenience from the persecuting laws of the time, he sent one of his friends to the Duke of York with his dying request, that he would endeavor to protect his son, as far as he consistently could, and that he would desire the king to do the same in case of future persecution. The answers both from the king and the duke were favorable to the wishes of the Admiral. Only eleven days were left to Sir William Penn after the close of the trial at the Old Bailey, for he died on the 16th of the same month.

At a time of serious reflection and not long before his death, he spoke thus: "Son William, I am weary of the

world. I would not live over my days again if I could command them with a wish; for the snares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God. The thought of this has followed me to this day. Oh, have a care of sin! It is that which is the sting both of life and death. Three things I commend to you. First, let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience; I charge you do nothing against your conscience; so will you keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, whatever you design to do lay it justly and time it seasonably, for that gives security and despatch. Thirdly, be not troubled at disappointments; for if they may be recovered, do it; if they cannot, trouble is then vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence; for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruction for another time. These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world."

Just before he died, looking at his son with the most composed countenance, he said, "Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother. Live all in love. Shun all manner of evil. And I pray God to bless you all, and He will bless you all."

V.

DURING the winter of 1670 William Penn resided at the old family seat in Buckinghamshire. A pamphlet falling into his hands which contained a professed summary of the doctrines held by the Roman Catholic Church, he wrote a reply to it, which he entitled "A SEASONABLE CAVEAT AGAINST POPERY."

To prevent a misapprehension of his design, he distinctly stated in his preface that he fully believed many of the Romanists were abused zealots (ignorantly zealous) through the idle, voluminous traditions of their church, whom he rather pitied than dared to wrong, and that he had no design to incense the civil magistrate against them, for he professed himself a friend to universal toleration in regard to faith and worship.

From the manner in which he treated his subject throughout the essay, and more especially from some observations near the close, it appears that he entertained some apprehension that efforts were then about being made, near the court, to reintroduce the popish religion in its ancient splendor into England. The doctrines and practice of the Romish church are exposed with great freedom and severity. The inconsistency of many of their tenets with the testimony of Scripture, with right reason, with the opinions of the early Christians, and with each other, are clearly pointed out.

William Penn soon after took a short journey, in the

course of which it happened that he stopped at Oxford. Learning there that several of the members of his own Society had been treated with great cruelty by the students on account of their religious meetings, and having reason to believe that the vice-chancellor himself was not blameless in that respect, he addressed to him a letter, of which the following is the introductory sentence :

“ Shall the multiplied oppressions, which thou continuest to heap upon innocent English people for their peaceable religious meetings, pass unregarded by the Eternal God? Dost thou think to escape his fierce wrath and dreadful vengeance for thy ungodly and illegal persecutions of his poor children? I tell thee, No. Better were it for thee thou hadst never been born. Poor mushroom, wilt thou war against the Lord, and lift up thyself in battle against the Almighty? Canst thou frustrate his holy purposes, and bring his determinations to nought? ”

Never perhaps before were the learning and dignity of a vice-chancellor of Oxford, as appears by this extract, so little thought of as on this occasion by William Penn. But we find that this man was an active persecutor of the non-conformists, and about this time so far degraded his station, as to employ an unprincipled fellow to travel about the country, and under the assumed character of a religious professor, insinuate himself into the company and confidence of the various dissenters, for the purpose of subjecting them to the penalties prescribed by the persecuting laws of the time. A vice-chancellor of Oxford, who could employ such characters to effect his purposes, could expect but little deference from a man of William Penn's principles and understanding.

After his return from Buckinghamshire to London, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, one of the judges at the trial of William Penn and William Mead, at the Old Bailey, who had been thwarted and overruled by the acquittal of the jury in that case, sought opportunity to entrap him, and bring him to a form of trial which would not require a jury. He was a nephew of Archbishop Laud, vindictive in his feelings towards dissenters, cunning and unscrupulous, and irritated by William Penn's able and undaunted defence. Other means of securing a conviction failing, he relied on tendering the oath of allegiance, which he knew that he would not take because of his conscientious scruples against all oaths. Having obtained information that he was to be at a meeting in Wheeler Street, he sent a sergeant with a file of soldiers to take him. They took their station near the door, where they waited until William Penn stood up and began to preach, when the sergeant pulled him down, and led him to the door. There a constable and his assistants were standing ready to join him, and they conveyed their prisoner to the Tower, and set a guard over him. In the evening he was taken before the lieutenant for examination, in the presence of Sir Samuel Starling, Sir John Sheldon, and others.

When the examination commenced, Sir John Robinson inquired his name, pretending he did not know him, notwithstanding their recent acquaintance at the Old Bailey, and the fact that he had a mittimus already prepared, with his name inserted. When they were about to prove, by the oaths of the constables, that he had been taken at a meeting, he requested that the oath might not be admin-

istered, for he freely acknowledged he was at the meeting at Wheeler Street, and spoke to the people there. The oath, however, was administered; but though the witnesses testified that he was speaking to the people, they could not be induced to declare that the assembly was an unlawful one. This appears to have disconcerted Robinson, who relied on their testimony to convict him under the Conventicle Act. He then told William Penn that they were not going to try him upon that act, but upon one passed in 1665, usually called the Oxford act. This act, in its terms, applied to "parsons and others, in holy orders, who had not subscribed the act of uniformity, and yet had taken upon them to preach, in unlawful assemblies, and to instil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion in the hearts of his majesty's subjects, to the church and kingdom;" and required that all such non-conformist ministers should take an oath of a prescribed form. In case of refusal to take the oath, they were subjected to certain disabilities, under heavy forfeitures. Any two justices of peace, upon oath made before them of any offence committed against the act, were empowered to commit the offender to prison for six months.

William Penn immediately showed them that the Oxford act did not apply to him, for he had never been in orders at all. Sir John Robinson, however, ordered the oath to be read, and inquired whether he would take it or not. He replied that he was conscientiously restrained from doing all that he was required by the oath to engage not to do, and therefore the oath was to him entirely needless. He informed them that his refusal to swear was not on account of the matter contained in the oath; but was

founded on better reasons than they could give for urging him to swear. In the course of the examination, Sir John told him "he had been as bad as others;" on which William Penn demanded of him when and where. He replied "abroad and at home, too." To which William Penn returned the following energetic reply: "I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, justly to accuse me with ever having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, much less that I ever made it my practice. I speak this to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who from a child begot an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, than for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit that they were once as they are. Thy words shall be thy burden, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet." The following dialogue then ensued:

Sir John Robinson.—Well, Mr. Penn, I have no ill-will towards you; your father was my friend, and I have a great regard for you.

William Penn.—But thou hast an ill way of expressing it.

Robinson.—But you do nothing but stir up the people to sedition.

Penn.—Bring me the man that will dare to justify this accusation to my face; and if I am not able to make it appear that it is both my practice, and all my friends, to instil principles of peace and moderation, and only to war against spiritual wickedness, that all men may be brought to fear God and work righteousness, I shall contentedly

undergo the severest punishment all your laws can expose me to.

Robinson.—Well, I must send you to Newgate for six months, and when they are expired, you will come out.

Penn.—Is that all? Thou knowest a larger imprisonment has not daunted me. I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will. Alas! you mistake your interest, you will miss your aim; this is not the way to compass your ends.

I would have thee and all men to know that I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for, and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it. Mine is, and whatever may be my lot for my constant profession of it, I am no ways careful, but resigned to answer the will of God by the loss of goods, liberty, and life itself. Thy religion persecutes, mine forgives; and I desire my God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing you eternal salvation.

He was then sent to the noisome prison of Newgate, to expiate, by a six months' confinement, the offence of preaching the Gospel to his brethren, and refusing to disobey the commandment of Christ.

VI.

WILLIAM PENN did not permit the time of his imprisonment to be lost to himself or the community ; but wrote several tracts, chiefly of a religious character, which were soon afterwards given to the world.

The first of these is entitled, "The great case of Liberty of Conscience, once more briefly debated, and defended by the authority of reason, Scripture, and antiquity."

In the preface he maintained that the enactment of such laws as restrained persons from the free exercise of their consciences in matters of religion, was but "the knotting of whipcord on the part of the enactors to lash their own posterity, whom they could never promise to be conformed for ages to come to a national religion."

He maintained that they who imposed fetters upon the conscience, and persecuted for conscience' sake, defeated God's work of grace, or the invisible operation of his Holy Spirit, which alone could beget faith ; that they claimed infallibility, which all good Protestants rejected ; and that they usurped the divine prerogative, assuming the judgment of the great tribunal, and thereby robbing the Almighty of a right which belonged exclusively to himself ; that they overthrew the Christian religion in the very nature of it, for it was spiritual, and not of this world ; in the very practice of it, for this consisted of

meekness; in the promotion of it, for it was clear that they never designed to be better themselves, and they discouraged others in their religious growth; and in the rewards of it, for where men were religious out of fear, and this out of the fear of men, their religion was condemnation and not peace; that they opposed the plainest testimonies of Divine writ, which concurred in condemning all force upon the conscience; that they acted contrary to all true notions of government, first, as to the nature of it, which was justice; secondly, as to the execution of it, which was prudence; and, thirdly, as to the end of it, which was happiness.

The dissertation is closed in these words.

“Liberty of conscience, as thus stated and defended, we ask as our undoubted right by the law of God, of nature, and of our own country. It has been often promised. We have long waited for it, we have written much and suffered in its defence, and have made many true complaints, but found little or no redress.

“But, if after all we have said, this short discourse should not be credited, nor answered in any of its sober reasons and requests, but sufferings should be the present lot of our inheritance from this generation, be it known to them all, that meet we must, and meet we cannot but encourage all to do, whatsoever hardship we sustain, in God’s name and authority who is Lord of hosts and King of kings, at the revelation of whose righteous judgments and glorious tribunal mortal men shall render an account of the deeds done in the body; and whatever the apprehensions of such may be concerning this discourse, it was written in love, and from a true sense of the present state

of things, and time and the event will vindicate it from untruth. In the meanwhile, it is matter of great satisfaction to the author, that he has so plainly cleared his conscience in pleading for the liberty of other men's, and publicly borne his honest testimony for God, not out of season to his poor country."

Another tract was, "A Serious Apology for the Principles and Practices of the People called Quakers," in reply to the aspersions of Thomas Jenner and Timothy Taylor, in their book called "Quakerism Anatomized."

In explanation of the doctrine of Friends on the subject of immediate revelation, we take the following from this work:

"By revelation, we understand the discovery and illumination of the light and spirit of God relating to those things that properly and immediately concern the daily information and satisfaction of our souls in the way of our duty to Him and to our neighbor.

"We renounce all fantastical and whimsical intoxications, or any pretence to the revelation of new matter in opposition to the ancient Gospel declared by Christ Jesus and his apostles; and therefore not the revelation of new things, but the renewed revelation of the eternal way of Truth."

On the subject of the primary rule of life, he says:

"Methinks this, our demonstration, should satisfy all; when neither man nor Scriptures are near us, yet there continually attends us that Spirit of Truth which immediately informs us of our thoughts, words, and deeds, and gives us true directions what to do and what to leave undone. Is not this the rule of life? If ye are led by

the spirit of God, then are ye sons of God. Let this suffice to vindicate our sense of a true and unerring rule, which we assert not in a way of derogation from those holy writings, which with reverence we read, believe, and desire always to obey the mind and will of God therein contained; and let that doctrine be accursed that would overturn them."

To the charge that Friends were displeased with others for observing times, days, and hours, he says:

"As to consecrated days and times, and the superstitious observation of them, as if the holiness of the day called loudly on us for our particular devotion, as being this or the other saints', and not that our devotion rather required a time to be performed in; this we are displeased with, and boldly testify against, as beggarly and Jewish. What said the apostle, urged by his godly jealousy, to the Galatians? But now after ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days and months, and times and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain."

"Though we utterly renounce all special and moral holiness in times and days, yet we both believe it requisite that time be set apart for the worship of the Almighty, and are also everywhere found in the diligent practice of the same. And howbeit we cannot own so strict an institution as to sabbatize the First day, or that it has any holiness inherent to it; yet, as taking the primitive saints for an example, with godly reverence we constantly assemble upon it.

“His charge of our denying family duties is equally false with all the rest; for we know it is our duty, and it is also our practice, to retire from our external affairs and wait upon the Lord every day, that we may receive strength from Him, and feel his heavenly peace and blessing to descend upon us at our rising up and lying down; that so to Him, over and above all visible things, honor and praise may be returned, who is worthy forever.”

In the sixth chapter he says:

“I am constrained, for the sake of the simple-hearted, to publish to the world, of our faith in God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit.

“We do believe in one only holy God Almighty, who is an eternal Spirit, the Creator of all things.

“And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only son, and express image of his substance, who took upon Him flesh and was in the world; and in life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, ascension, and mediation, perfectly did, and does continue to do, the will of God; to whose holy life, power, mediation, and blood we only ascribe our sanctification, justification, redemption, and perfect salvation.

“And we believe in one Holy Spirit that proceeds and breathes from the Father and the Son, a measure of which is given to all to profit with; and he that has one has all; for those Three are One, who is the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, God over all, blessed forever. Amen.”

In these employments of his pen the time of his confinement passed away, and at the expiration of the six months he was released. It appears that soon after, he

visited Holland and some parts of Germany, in the capacity of a minister of the Gospel; but of these labors or the fruits of them we have no particular account.

In the spring of this year, King Charles issued a proclamation, suspending the execution of all the penal laws against non-conformists. This act is attributed, by historians, to a wish to favor the Roman Catholics, and was considered as a stretch of prerogative. Its practical effect, however, was very favorable to Friends—near five hundred of them—who had been imprisoned upon a *præmunire*, and some who had been detained several years, being set at liberty, and the rage of persecution was checked for a time.

VII.

IN the beginning of 1672, being then in the twenty-eighth year of his age, William Penn was married to Gulielma Maria Springett, the daughter of Sir William Springett, who lost his life in the war between the king and Parliament, in the time of Charles I. His widow was afterwards married to Isaac Penington. While this daughter was yet young the family were convinced of the principles of Friends, and became valuable members of the Society. She was beautiful in person, highly accomplished, of great sweetness of disposition combined with natural dignity, and much esteemed for her piety and benevolence. After their marriage they took up their residence at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire.

His marriage, and the consequent cares of a family, did not prevent the exercise of his ministerial gift; for, besides the attendance of meetings in his own neighborhood, he visited Friends in the course of the year in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey. He closes his narrative of the journey in the following manner:

“The Lord sealed up our labors and travels according to the desire of my soul and spirit with his heavenly refreshments and sweet living power and word of life, unto the reaching of all, and consoling our own hearts abundantly. Thus hath the Lord been with us in all our travels

for his Truth, and with his blessings of peace are we returned, which is a reward beyond all worldly treasures."

The sunshine of royal indulgence soon brought from their places of retreat some of those dissenters who kept out of sight while the storm was spreading its rage on the heads of others. The persecuting laws, which, together with the barbarous manner of their execution, have stamped an indelible stigma upon the reign of Charles II., were probably designed by their authors to crush the Presbyterians and Independents on account of their political opposition to the dominant party. Yet, as the religion of many of these people was more pliable than that embraced by William Penn and his fellow-professors, the burden of persecution fell principally, though not wholly, on the latter. Their unflinching support of their religious meetings, and their constant refusal to take the oaths required of them, furnished employment and plunder for the harpies of the law. Besides, as it was vain to expect a general conformity to the religion of the court among the dissenters at large while there was one society which openly refused to mould its doctrines or worship to the opinions of the Episcopal church, the principal efforts of the established clergy appear to have been directed to their suppression, from a conviction that, if they were once removed out of the way, the other dissenters would be likely to yield with more facility.

But, while they thus weathered the storm and sheltered the heads of other dissenters, the firmness and faithfulness of Friends carried conviction to the minds of many religiously disposed persons of that day, who were induced to abandon the societies to which they belonged, and unite

in fellowship with them. This sometimes roused the zeal of their former teachers, and occasioned repeated attacks upon the principles and characters of Friends.

To answer these attacks gave William Penn much employment during the first year of his residence at Rickmansworth. Among others, John Faldo, an Independent teacher near Barnet, finding that some of his hearers had united with Friends, wrote a book entitled "Quakerism no Christianity." William Penn's replies to this and two succeeding attacks from the same source cover more than two hundred pages in the folio edition of his writings.

He lays down the doctrine, that although it pleased God, at the opening of the Christian dispensation, to send his Son a light into the world, yet He was in degree spiritually manifested in all ages as the Word of God nigh in the heart, and that they who believed in and obeyed Him obtained remission of sins and eternal salvation. Thus Christ was the rock which followed Israel, and whose day Abraham saw and was glad. That Christianity is not a mere historical belief of the outward acts which Christ performed in his bodily appearance, but a firm belief in Him that so appeared, had died, rose, and ascended, both as testified in the Scriptures of Truth and as He breaks in upon the soul by his divine discoveries, as the true light enlightening every man.

The testimony of Friends to the divine light or manifestation of the spirit of Jesus Christ in the soul, having been made an occasion to charge them with denying his outward manifestation, the falsehood of this charge is proved, and it is shown, that the latter being universally admitted, while the former was either overlooked or de-

nied by many of the professors of Christianity, Friends have been specially called to bear testimony to the inward and spiritual appearance of Christ to the soul, a measure of whose spirit is given to all, reproving the unfruitful works of darkness and leading to a true knowledge of the way of life and salvation.

In the Fourth month, 1673, we find William Penn, in company with his wife and George Whitehead, attending the meetings of Friends at Bristol; but of this journey no particular account remains.

His time appears to have been chiefly occupied in writing; and, indeed, the works produced by his pen in this and the following year were quite enough to engross the time of a man of ordinary industry.

Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptists of London, was among the number of those who labored to render the Society of Friends and the principles which they held odious in the sight of the people of that day. He published a pamphlet, called "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker," so artfully managed that an incautious reader might readily suppose this pretended dialogue a real one. Having both sides of the controversy to manage, he took care to make his pseudo-Quaker talk in a very weak and ridiculous manner, and utter opinions grossly erroneous and objectionable.

The controversy in writing which followed between him and William Penn led to a public meeting, by agreement with the Baptists, in their house at Barbican, London. The principal disputants on the side of the Baptists were Thomas Hicks and Jeremy Ives, and on the part of Friends, William Penn, George Whitehead, and George Keith.

It may perhaps be interesting to some readers to see a specimen of the manner in which the opponents of Friends in that day attempted to unchristianize the Society. The prevailing mode of conducting polemic discussions at that time was to reduce the propositions which were intended to be established into syllogisms, and much of the skill displayed in argument consisted in the facility of reducing propositions to that form.

Thomas Hicks appears to have commenced the dispute with this argument:

They that deny the Lord's Christ are no Christians.

But the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ.

Therefore they are no Christians.

To this William Penn returned, "I deny the minor, viz., that the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ."

Thomas Hicks replied, they that deny Christ to be a distinct person without them deny the Lord's Christ; but the Quakers deny Christ to be a distinct person without them, therefore the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ.

William Penn then desired that Thomas Hicks would explain what he meant by the term person; to which he answered that he meant the man Christ Jesus. William Penn then replied, "I deny the minor, viz., that we deny the man Christ Jesus."

Thomas Hicks replied, "I prove that ye deny the man Christ Jesus: one of your writers asserts that Christ was never seen with carnal eyes nor heard with carnal ears." From which Jeremy Ives framed a syllogism: "He that denies that Christ was ever seen with carnal eyes denies the Lord's Christ; but the Quakers deny that Christ was

ever seen with carnal eyes, therefore the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ."

George Keith then replied that Christ, as God, was never seen with carnal eyes, but as man He was.

William Penn explained the subject by stating, that wicked men might see Him in his bodily appearance, and yet not see Him to be the Christ of God. They might see his manhood, but not his Christship. This was illustrated by the declaration of our Lord to Peter, when he had acknowledged Him to be the Christ, the Son of the living God, viz., "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Hence, he inferred that Peter could not with a carnal eye have seen the Lord's Christ, much less could wicked men.

Jeremy Ives then asked, "Is the manhood a part of the Lord's Christ?"

To this William Penn returned the inquiry, "Is this to prove the charge of our denying the Lord Christ? It seems we must be here to be catechised, and ye will not answer us one question, yet I shall answer Jeremy Ives's question if he will promise to answer mine." Jeremy Ives promising that he would, William Penn replied, that they believed that holy manhood to be a member of the Christ of God, and then directing his discourse to Jeremy Ives, he asked, "Was He the Christ of God before He was manifest in the flesh?" "He was," returned Jeremy Ives, "the Son of God." But to the question as stated by William Penn, he would not answer. His silence in that case was attributed to the prevalence of Socinian opinions among them, which William Penn probably designed to make him acknowledge or deny. But he was too cautious

to do either. William Penn adduced, in proof of the affirmative of his own question, the declaration of the apostle, "They all drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ."

There is extant the fragment of a letter written by William Penn to George Fox on this occasion, which further illustrates the character and importance of the public religious discussions of those days. "Thy fatherly love," says he, "and tender care I do with all gentleness and true respect receive; but thou shalt understand the occasion of our answer, wherein we stated that 'the holy manhood was a member of the Christ of God.'

"The question was, 'If the manhood were a part of Christ?' To this we must either have answered nothing, or only a Scripture, or in the terms of the question, or as we did.

"If we had answered nothing, we had gratified the enemy, stumbled the moderate, and grieved friends.

"If a Scripture, it had been no way satisfactory; for the question, they would have said, was not about the text, but about the understanding of it; and they would have charged us with so wresting it to a mystical sense, as to shut out the person that appeared in the flesh.

"Further, if we had answered in the terms of the question, we had taken Christ into parts, whereas I cried twice to them, 'Christ is not to be divided into parts.' But they still pressed the question, six thousand people I believe, being present, and many of them were desirous of an answer. Upon this Friends consented that it should be answered them, 'that the manhood was a part of Christ.' But I feared the word part, and chose rather to say that

we believed the holy manhood to be a member of the Christ of God, and my reasons for so doing were these: First, What needed we to grant more than was asked? Friends only desired to have us grant that the manhood was a part of Christ, in order to overthrow T. Hicks's attempts to prove us no Christians; and that was of so great moment in that solemn and great assembly, as tongue cannot utter. Secondly, Since we were willing to go no further in our confessions than they asked at our hands, this was my reason for rejecting the word part for member, to wit, that a body may be taken into members without breach of union, but not into parts. A member divides not; parts divide. Christ is called the head, that is, the most noble member, the Church the body, and particulars are styled members of that body. Now calling these members divides them not into parts. Thirdly, I did not say it was but a member, and I often repeated that it was of and belonging to Christ, and in my confession at the close I said, that we believed in Christ, both as He was the man Jesus, and God over all blessed forever.

“But, blessed be the Lord! I have not sought to comprehend or imagine; but as I am furnished upon the occasion so it goes. I value the invisible touches and feeling of heavenly virtue and life beyond it all, nor am I delighted with these matters; but, dear George, I confess I never heard any Friend speak so fully as to Christ's manhood as thyself. I think so much in print in our name as a people would remove much prejudice, and the contest would come more to power against power, than words against words. And this I must needs say, we have been as poor tossed sheep up and down, much abused, vilified and belied; but

over all God is raising the strong horn of his salvation; and He has magnified his name in all these bustles and stirs; and truth has manifestly gotten ground, and in no one thing more than our plain confessions of Christ; so much had the devil roosted and nestled himself in them under their misapprehensions of our words in that particular; and if any weakness attended the phrasing of it, I hope and believe the simplicity in which it was delivered will hide it from the evil watcher."

From the narrative of this controversy, two inferences may be fairly deduced: first, That the only tenable ground upon which the opponents of the early Friends attempted to divest them of the Christian character was the greater spirituality of their doctrines. And, second, That while they faithfully and fearlessly maintained their testimony to the spiritual nature of the Christian religion, and rejected the gross and carnal constructions so generally given to the declarations of our Lord and his apostles, they never refined away the plain and obvious truths which the sacred volume contains. They in fact adhered very closely to the letter as well as to the spirit of the Holy Scriptures.

Alexander Parker, one of the early members and ministers of the Society, had published, about the year 1657, a tract, entitled a "Testimony of the Light within," of which Samuel Grevill, a priest near Banbury, wrote a pretended refutation. The doctrine thus assailed, being one of great importance, and, indeed, lying at the foundation of the testimony which Friends believed themselves called to support, William Penn produced a pamphlet entitled "Urim and Thummim, or the doctrines of Light

and perfection maintained," proving from Scripture testimony that the witness for God in the mind of man is the light of Christ, the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and that this light not only discovers to us what is sinful, but is sufficient, as it is followed and obeyed, to lead out of all sin into the glorious liberty of the children of God. He lays it down as the reason why many of the professors of religion deny the sufficiency of this Divine light or Holy Spirit, to lead into entire redemption and to the knowledge of God, whom to know is life eternal, that they have known it only as a reprover, and have not, for want of obedience, experienced the salvation from sin and death to which it leads; and admonishes his readers to try the effect of obedience to its small and tender appearances, before they object to its nature or sufficiency.

The controversies in which William Penn had been hitherto engaged, were with persons of other religious persuasions; but at the time to which we are now arrived, he was drawn into a contest with some who professed to hold the same fundamental doctrines as he did. The prime mover in this controversy was John Perot, a man who had joined the Society of Friends, who appears to have possessed more imagination than judgment, and much higher opinion of himself than his attainments, natural or spiritual, justified. Imagining himself commissioned to convert the pope, he procured a man of the name of John Luff to accompany him on this embassy. Arriving at Rome, they were soon arrested and cast into prison. John Luff was confined in the inquisition, where he died, not without circumstances exciting the opinion that he

was privately murdered. John Perot was committed to the bedlam, from whence he occasionally found means to transmit letters to England for publication, expressed in the apostolic style, signing himself "John," without surname. After being a considerable time in confinement, his release was procured by the solicitation of some of his friends, and he soon afterwards returned to England. The report of his sufferings at Rome, which common fame had exaggerated, united to the appearance of unusual sanctity, gave him more place than he deserved in the minds of some well meaning, but not very judicious, Friends. Mistaking the suggestions of his own misguided imagination for the indications of the Divine Spirit, he declaimed against the practice of taking off the hat in time of prayer as a piece of formality, inconsistent with the spirituality of the Christian religion, unless they felt themselves divinely required so to do. And a number of the less experienced Friends were carried away with his notions, and adopted his practice.

As Friends had always considered the uncovering of the head, when they approach the Supreme Being in prayer, as an external sign of the homage due to Him, and of the reverence with which they engage in that solemn act, George Fox labored to convince those Friends who had fallen into it, of the impropriety of this unseemly practice, and with such success that most of them acknowledged their error, and united with their more experienced brethren. John Perot, however, was too confident, or too obstinate, to change his course, and was at length disowned by the Society.

After his disownment, a pamphlet was published, with-

out the name of the author, but attributed to him, with the title of "The Spirit of the Hat," to which William Penn wrote a reply, with the curious title of "The spirit of Alexander the coppersmith justly rebuked." Shortly after the appearance of the latter, a second anonymous pamphlet, under the title of "Tyranny and Hypocrisy detected," was given to the world. This came out under the character of a reply to "The spirit of Alexander the coppersmith rebuked;" and like the former, was understood to be the work of John Perot. It drew a rejoinder from William Penn, which he styled "Judas and the Jews combined against Christ and his followers."

This controversy assumes a degree of importance, which it would not otherwise possess, from the principles involved in it. This anonymous writer took the ground, that those who refused to uncover their heads at the time of prayer, were led to this practice by the light of Truth in their own minds, and that a requisition, on the part of other Friends, of a conformity to the usages of the Society in this respect, was an abridgment of their Christian liberty. William Penn states the doctrine as unquestionably true, that the Divine light is universal and sufficient to lead to salvation, and that every man ought to follow its teachings in matters of faith and worship. The dispute between them was not in regard to the principle, but to its application. The following questions are laid down as including the matter at issue:

1. Whether Christ has or has not given to his church, consisting of faithful believers and obedient walkers by the light or spirit of God within, a just sense, relish, and savor of those spirits which the great enemy of man may

assume, under plausible appearances, to condemn what the church has practised, or to introduce what the church has condemned?

2. Whether such a society, body, or church, may not, after due admonition given to such dissenting or innovating person, lawfully and without deviation from Christian principles, deny their communion to such person or persons, as a testimony against the spirit by which they are actuated?

3. Whether such person or persons may acknowledge the truth of this fundamental doctrine of the Divine light as a leader and guide, and yet be actuated by a wrong spirit to the production of rents and divisions, and then oppose the church under pretence of being guided by this inward light; and consequently whether such persons ought to be judged by any for acting in this manner, seeing it is the duty of all to act according to the dictates of the light of Christ?

4. Whether the body of those called Quakers or their opposers were that church?

In answer to the first, it is shown that such a power of discernment does belong to the true church, from various passages in Scripture.

The second is also answered affirmatively, both from the testimony of Scripture and the reasonableness of the case.

In regard to the third question, it is stated that men may acknowledge and believe the doctrine of the inward light of Christ, and yet mistake the suggestions of their own dark imaginations for the leadings of this divine light: and yet neither the profession nor the belief of being guided by it, can exempt those who are not really

led by it, from the just judgment of those who are. If the mere profession of being led by the spirit of Truth could exonerate those who are strangers to it from the judgment and censure of such as actually walk in the Spirit, a door would be opened to all kinds of libertinism. Though it is the duty of all to walk in the light, and to wait for it, that by it they may be instructed in the way of life and salvation, yet it is they only who are actually led by it, that can rightly discern between the false spirits and the true.

The fourth question was one upon which the application of the principles laid down in the answers to the former three essentially depended. Whether the body of those who were called Quakers, or the few who were joined with John Perot, were the true church, acting under the influence of the divine light? Though the number of those who adhered to John Perot appears to have borne a very small proportion to the number of those who discarded his notions, yet our author does not build any part of his argument on this basis. He raises it on a much more solid foundation.

According to the concessions of John Perot, the Society at one time was a true church, with a living and powerful ministry; among whom the everlasting Gospel was preached, and by which the church was greatly increased. Now, as the dissatisfaction of John Perot and his party did not arise from any change in the principles or practice of the Society, but grew out of their own innovations, the Society was the same church still, but they were not the same members. Harmony prevailed, and religious refreshment was experienced among them, till the innovation of keeping on the hat in the time of public

prayer was attempted. The change of character must, therefore, be attributed to those who had adopted this innovation, and not to those who refused it.

Besides the works already mentioned, he wrote, in the course of this year, several letters of a religious character, which are still extant.

One to Justice Fleming, deputy lieutenant of Westmoreland, who, it appears, had used considerable severity towards Friends in that county. In this letter he says:

“The obligation which thy civility laid upon the person who is now my wife, when in the north in 1664, is, with her being so, become mine. Not to acknowledge, though I could never retaliate it, were a rudeness I have not usually been guilty of; for, however differing I am from other men *circa sacra*, that is, relative to religious matters, and to that world which, respecting men, may be said to begin when this ends, I know no religion which destroys courtesy, civility, and kindness. These, rightly understood, are great indications of true men, if not of good Christians.” And a little further on he adds: “That way is but a bad way of making Christians, which destroys their constitutions as men.” He then in plain but respectful terms pointed out the folly as well as injustice of attempting to change the opinions of men by the application of force.

The declaration of indulgence to those who dissented from the established church, which was issued by the king in 1671, was not long permitted to pass unopposed. From the character of the reigning monarch, and the measures of the court, it was inferred that this act of indulgence was not designed for the relief of Protestant

dissenters, so much as the protection of Roman Catholics; and, at all events, it was obviously an assumption of power under the character of the royal prerogative, which excited the jealousy even of those who would have gladly obtained the same indulgence in a constitutional way. The Parliament which met in 1673 complained of this suspension of the penal laws by the dispensing power of the crown, as one of the grievances to be redressed; and having the power of granting or withholding supplies, they used it in this case, so that their prodigal and needy monarch revoked his proclamation and broke the seals with his own hands.

Though the Parliament was then composed of men rather more favorable to toleration than in the early part of Charles II.'s reign, yet, when the declaration of indulgence was revoked, no effectual measures were adopted to secure a legal toleration, and therefore the persecuting bigots of the day availed themselves of that revocation to revive the Conventicle Act, and to renew the oppression of conscientious dissenters. These unrighteous proceedings soon attracted the attention of our author, and furnished employment for his pen through a considerable part of the year 1674.

Some justices of the peace in Middlesex having used an unexpected degree of harshness towards Friends who had assembled at a meeting in their neighborhood, at which, it appears, he was present, he addressed a respectful letter to them, forcibly appealing to their own understandings against the persecuting measures to which they had given countenance.

In that letter he assumed the ground that the king's

declaration of indulgence was revoked, not because there was any objection to its principles, but on account of the manner of the grant. He further urged that the kingdom was then undisturbed, that there was consequently no just cause for the execution of such laws, and that when the reason of a law had ceased, the law itself became obsolete without a formal repeal; and that it was very questionable whether the law by which Protestants were burnt for their opposition to the church of Rome had ever been repealed. Laws, he observed, were either fundamental, and therefore permanent, or enacted upon particular emergencies, and to expire of themselves when the cause of their enactment had passed away. He says: "We came not to our liberties and properties by the Protestant religion; their date rises higher. Why, then, should a non-conformity to it deprive us of them? The nature of body and soul, earth and heaven, this world and that to come, differs. There can be no reason to persecute any man in this world about anything that belongs to the next. Who art thou (saith the Holy Scripture) that judgeth another man's servant? He must stand or fall to his master, the great God. Let tares and wheat grow together till the great harvest.

"Be pleased to remember that faith is the gift of God; and what is not of faith is sin. We must either be hypocrites in doing what we believe in our consciences we ought not to do, or forbearing what we are fully persuaded we ought to do.

"Either give us better faith or leave us with such as we have, for it seems unreasonable in you to disturb us for this that we have, and yet be unable to give us any other."

"I am well assured it shall less repent you upon your

dying bed, to have acted moderately than severely. You cannot but know how fallible Protestants acknowledge themselves to be in matters of religion, and, consequently, with what caution they should proceed against any about religion." "I love and honor all virtuous persons that differ from me, and hope God will have regard to every such one, according to his sincerity. And, however it shall please you to deal with us at this or any other time, I pray God to forgive you, open your eyes, tender your hearts, and make you sensible how much more moderation and virtue are worth your study and pursuit than the disturbance of religious dissenting assemblies, that, so far as I know of them, desire to honor the king, love their neighbors as themselves, and do unto all men as they would have all men do unto them."

A passage from the fragment of autobiography published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, relates to this period of William Penn's life.

"The third time I came to court was in '73, having not frequented it for five years. The business that drew me thither was the imprisonment of that servant of God, my worthy friend George Fox, in Worcester Castle; the cause, worshipping God after another manner than that of the Church of England; and lest it should prove too feeble a tie to hold him, the justices of the peace that had laid his commitment officiously tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, not that he should take them, but because they were pretty sure he would not take them, as a supplemental snare to gratify their humor and accomplish their design against him. This ending in a præmunire, and finding no applications in the country were likely

to succeed for his deliverance out of the hands of some very angry, obstinate persons, it was resolved amongst us at London to remove him by habeas corpus to the King's Bench, and try what we could do at the court to procure his discharge.

"It fell to my lot to go on this errand, in which solicitation William Mead accompanied me.

"After something I said as an introduction to the business, I delivered the Duke of York our request. He perused it, and then told us 'that he was against all persecution for the sake of religion. That it was true he had, in his younger time, been warm, especially when he thought people made it a pretence to disturb government, but that he had seen and considered things better, and he was for doing to others as he would have others do unto him; and he thought it would be happy for the world if all were of that mind; for he was sure,' he said, 'that no man was willing to be persecuted himself for his own conscience.' He added that 'he looked upon us as a quiet, industrious people, and though he was not of our judgment, yet he liked our good lives,' with much more to the same purpose, promising he would speak to his brother, and doubted not but that the king's counsel would have orders in our friend's favor.

"I and my companion spoke, as occasion offered, to recommend both our business and our character, but the less because he prevented us in the manner I have expressed.

"When he had done upon this affair, he was pleased to take a very particular notice of me, both for the relation my father had had to his service in the navy, and the

care he had promised him to show in my regard upon all occasions.

“That he wondered I had not been with him, and that whenever I had any business thither he would order that I should have access; after which he withdrew, and we returned.

“This was my first visit to the court after five years’ retirement, and this the success of it, and the first time I had spoken with him since ’65. That it should be grateful to me was no wonder; and, perhaps, that with some was the beginning of my faults at court.”

The following letter to George Fox was written soon after the interview above related:

“DEAR GEORGE FOX:—Thy dear and tender love in thy last letter I received, and for thy business thus: a great lord, a man of noble mind, did as good as put himself in a loving way to get thy liberty. He prevailed with the king for a pardon, but that we rejected. Then he prest for a more noble release, that better answered truth. He prevailed, and got the king’s hand to a release. It sticks with the Lord Keeper, and we have used, and do use, what interest we can. The king is angry with him (the Lord Keeper), and promiseth very largely and lovingly; so that, if we have been deceived, thou seest the grounds of it. But we have sought after a writ of error these ten days past, wellnigh resolving to be as sure as we can; and an habeas corpus is gone or will go to-morrow night. My dear love saluter thee and thy dear wife. Things are brave as to Truth in these parts; great conviction upon the people. My wife’s dear love is to you all. I long

and hope erelong to see thee. So, dear George Fox, am, etc.,

WILLIAM PENN."

George Fox having been brought by a writ of habeas corpus before the Court of the King's Bench, Sir Matthew Hale discharged him by proclamation.

Persecution now raging with nearly as much violence as ever, the envious magistrates frequently resorted to their old expedient. When Friends were brought before them, and could not be convicted of any offence, they tendered the oath of allegiance to them; and upon their refusing to swear, they were subjected to the extremely severe penalties designed for an entirely different class of people.

To evince to the world that they had substantial reasons for refusing to swear, William Penn, in 1675, published a treatise on oaths, which was addressed to the king and Parliament. The author first shows the reason of oaths to be the degeneracy of man from primitive integrity; and fortifies his opinion by the testimony of a number of ancient writers. He then assigns various reasons why a Christian ought not to swear.

"As oaths originate in perfidy, they ought to be excluded by a religion that establishes integrity, and therefore takes away the reason of them.

"They abolish the distinction between men of veracity and those of loose and perfidious characters.

"Oaths, by their frequent and familiar use, have lost the awful influence which is the alleged reason for their continuance.

“Those who entertain a just sense of the omnipresence of God have no need of an oath to confine them to the truth

“It is irreverent to appeal to God as a witness on trivial occasions.

“The example and precepts of our Saviour are directly opposed to all oaths; and swearing is contrary to the nature and general character of Christianity.”

He cites the testimonies of a great number of the ancient Gentiles and of several Jewish writers in disapprobation of swearing.

He next gives the declarations of a great number of Christian fathers, doctors, martyrs, and early reformers, from Polycarp to Erasmus, against the lawfulness of swearing under the Gospel dispensation. This is followed by the opinions of several of the schoolmen and others, as Thomas Aquinas, Cajetan, etc., against the use of oaths. These authorities, extracted from a number of writers, ancient and modern, are no questionable evidence of the industry and reading of William Penn.

But this work, however it might have softened some, had not the least influence (such was the religious fury of the times) where it was most to be desired. Bigots who had power, still continued to abuse it. Persons were thrown into gaol, so that parents and their children were separated. Cattle were driven away. The widow's cow was not even spared. Barns full of corn were seized which was threshed out and sold. Household goods were distrained, so that even a stool was not left in some cases to sit on. These enormities sometimes took place on suspicion only that persons had preached to or attended a

conventicle; and to such length were they carried, that even some of those who went only to visit and sit by their sick relations, were adjudged to be a company met to pray in defiance of the law. William Penn attempted again to stem the torrent by a work of another kind. He published a treatise under the following title: "England's present interest considered with honor to the Prince and safety to the people, in answer to this question, What is most fit, easy, and safe at this juncture of affairs to be done for quieting differences, allaying the heat of contrary interests, and making them subservient to the interest of the government, and consistent with the prosperity of the kingdom? submitted to the consideration of our superiors."

He answers his question by asserting that the thing most fit, safe, and easy to be done, would be a determination by the Government, first, upon an inviolable and impartial maintenance of English rights; secondly, upon conducting itself so as to act upon a balance, as nearly as it could, towards the several religious interests; and, thirdly, upon a sincere promotion of general and practical religion.

"Englishmen," he said, "had birthrights. The first of these consisted of an ownership and undisturbed possession, so that what they had was rightly their own and nobody's else, and such possession and ownership related both to title and security of estate, and liberty of person from the violence of arbitrary power. This was the situation of our ancestors in ancient British times. They who governed afterwards, the Saxons, made no alteration in this law, but confirmed it. The Normans who came next did the same. William, at his coronation, made a

solemn covenant to maintain the good, approved, and ancient laws of the kingdom, and to inhibit all spoil and unjust judgment. The same covenant was adopted by his successors, and confirmed by Magna Charta.

“The second birthright of Englishmen consisted in the voting of every law that was made, whereby that ownership in liberty and property might be maintained.” This also was the case, as he proved by quotations from laws and an appeal to history, in British, Saxon, and Norman times. “The third birthright of Englishmen consisted in having an influence upon, and a great share in, the judicatory power, so that they were not to be condemned but by the votes of freemen. This practice, though not perhaps British, obtained very early in Saxon times. It was among the laws of Ethelred that in every hundred there should be a court where twelve ancient freemen, together with the lord of the hundred, should be sworn that they would not condemn the innocent or acquit the guilty. The same law continued to be the law of the land under different kings till it was violated by John; when Magna Charta restored it.” Magna Charta, however, he maintained, “was not the nativity, but the restorer of ancient English privileges. It was no grant of new rights, but only a restorer of the old.”

He then explained the great Charter of England, and endeavored to show by an appeal to reason, law, lawyers, and facts themselves, that the people of England could not be justly disseized of any of these fundamentals. “Nothing could be more unjust than to sacrifice the liberty and property of any man for religion, where he was not found breaking any law which related to natural or civil things.

Religion under any modification or church government was no part of the old English constitution. ‘*Honeste vivere, alterum non lædere, jus suum cuique tribuere,*’ that is, to live honestly, to do no injury to another, and to give every man his due, was enough to entitle every native to English privileges. It was this, and not his religion which gave him the great claim to the protection of the government under which he lived. Near three hundred years before Austin set his foot on English ground the inhabitants had a good constitution. This came not in with him. Neither did it come in with Luther; nor was it to go out with Calvin. We were a free people by the creation of God, by the redemption of Christ, and by the careful provision of our never to be forgotten, honorable ancestors; so that our claim to these English privileges, rising higher than Protestantism, could never justly be invalidated on account of non-conformity to any tenet or fashion it might prescribe. This would be to lose by the Reformation, which was effected only that we might enjoy property with conscience.”

With respect to the second part of the answer, that is, a determination by the Government of conducting itself so as to act upon a balance as nearly as it could towards the several religious interests, he proved that our Saviour prohibited all force in producing an uniformity of religious opinion. He says, “many inquisitive men into human affairs have thought that the concord of discords hath not been the infirmest basis government can stand upon. Less sedition and disturbance attended Hannibal’s army that consisted of many nations, than the Roman legions that were of one people.” “It is not probable that a master in

a family should have his work so well done, who smiles upon one servant and frowns upon the rest." "It is not the interest of governors to blow coals in their own country, especially when it is to consume their own people, and it may be themselves, too." Again: "Such conduct not only makes them enemies, but there is no such excitement to revenge as a raped conscience. Whether the ground of a man's religious dissent be rational or not, severity is unjustifiable with him; for it is a maxim with sufferers, that, whoever is in the wrong, the persecutor cannot be in the right. Men not conscious to themselves of evil, and hardly treated, not only resent it unkindly, but are bold to show it."

The last chapter is on the sincere promotion of general and practical religion. He says: "General, true, and requisite religion is to visit the widow and fatherless, and to keep ourselves, through the universal grace, unspotted of the world. This is the most easy and probable way to fetch in all men professing God and religion, since every persuasion acknowledges this in words." "All pretend to make this their corner-stone; let them be equally encouraged to square their building by it."

"No one thing is more unaccountable and condemnable among men than their uncharitable contests about religion, indeed, about words and phrases, while they all verbally meet in the most, if not only, necessary part of the Christian religion; for nothing is more certain than that if men would but live up to one-half of what they know in their consciences they ought to practise, their edge would be taken off, their blood would be sweetened by mercy and truth, and this unnatural sharpness qualified. They would

quickly find work enough at home; each man's hands would be full by the unruliness of his own passions and in subjecting his own will, instead of devouring one another's good name, liberty, or estate. Compassion would rise, and mutual desires to be assistant to each other in a better sort of living. Oh, how delightful it would be to see mankind, the creation of one God, that hath upheld them to this day, of one accord, at least in the weighty things of God's holy law."

"A promotion of general religion, which being in itself practical, brings back ancient virtue. Good living will thrive in this soil; men will grow honest, trusty, and temperate. We may expect good neighborhood and cordial friendship. Men will be more industrious, which will increase our manufactures; set the idle and poor to work for their livelihood, and enable the several countries with more ease and decency to maintain the aged and impotent.

"It is out of this nursery of virtue men should be drawn to be planted in the government; not what is their opinion, but what is their manners and capacity. Here the field is large, and the magistrate has room to choose good officers for the public good. Heaven will prosper so natural, so noble, and so Christian an essay."

In the same year he wrote a remarkable letter to two Protestant women of rank in Germany. One of them was the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick V., Prince Palatine of the Rhine and King of Bohemia, and granddaughter of James I. of England. The other was Anna Maria, Countess of Hornes, the friend and companion of Elizabeth. They were both religious women, and the princess had manifested her liberality by affording an

asylum in her dominions to persons who were persecuted for religion. The Princess Elizabeth was distinguished for her learning as well as for her benevolence. Her attachment to her Protestant belief had led her when quite young to reject the offer of marriage to the King of Poland. She was now in her fifty-sixth year. William Penn speaks of her as "choosing a single life as the freest from care, and best suited to study and meditation. Though she kept no sumptuous table in her own court, she spread the tables of the poor in their solitary cells, breaking bread to virtuous pilgrims according to their want and her ability. Abstemious in herself, and in apparel void of all vain ornaments." Robert Barclay and Benjamin Furly, when travelling in Germany in the service of the Gospel, had paid them a visit and were favorably received. This visit gave the princess such a knowledge of the principles of Friends, and so favorable an opinion of them, that hearing about this time of the imprisonment of Robert Barclay, she wrote to her brother, Prince Rupert, soliciting him to use his influence with the king to prevent or mitigate the severity with which he was threatened.

The letter of William Penn, which is of great length, begins as follows :

· "Noble of this world, but more noble for your inquiry after the Truth and love to it, the fame whereof hath sounded to the ears of some of us in this island. I have had you, worthy women, often in my remembrance, with that honor which is not of this world; even when my soul has been in its purest retirements, not only from all visibles, but from their very ideas in the mind, and every other imagination; resting with the Lord in his own sab-

bath, which is the true silence of all flesh indeed, which profits above the formal Christian's bodily exercise. And in these heavenly sequestrations of soul, and true resignation unto the divine will of my Father, have I taken a most clear prospect of you, and every circumstance that may be fit for me to know: your education, your quality, your dignity, the envy of the clergy, the fury of the rabble, and the strength and power of temptation, arising from all these considerations, if possible to smother your blessed beginnings; and as so many bands of soldiers, employed and commissioned of their great prince of darkness, to watch and to hinder Jesus from rising in you. In a weighty sense of all which my heart opens itself unto you in God's counsel, after this manner.

“Be faithful to what you know, and obedient to that which God, by the light of his Son, makes manifest in your consciences. Consult not away the pure and gentle strivings of the Holy Ghost; drown not his still voice with the crowd of careful thoughts and vain contrivances; break not the bruised reed, neither quench the smoking flax in yourselves. If you truly love Jesus, hear Him; and since it hath pleased God in some measure, as with Paul, to reveal his blessed Son in you, consult not with flesh and blood, which are below the heavenly things; for that inherits not the kingdom of God; but with sincere Mary, from a deep sense of the beauty, virtue, and excellency of that life, that is hid with Christ in God, wait out of all cumber, free from that running, willing, sacrificing spirit that is in the world, in the pure obedience, humiliation, godly death or silence, at the feet of Jesus, choosing the better part, which shall never be taken from you: and

Jesus will be with you; He will shed his peace abroad in the midst of you, even that which flows from the crystal streams of life, that arise from under the throne of God."

It concludes in the following manner: "Remember the poverty, simplicity, self-denial, patience, and the cross of Jesus. I beg of you, by all that is dear and sacred to you, shrink not at this baptism, neither so much as tamper with any latitude that would evade his bitter cup. Let not his vinegar and gall be unpleasant, nor his crown of thorns troublesome; last of all, let not his nails and spear be terrible to you. For they that will not forsake Him in his agonies, but be the companions of his tribulations, and cheerfully lay down their life and die with Him to the world, they and none else shall rise with Him in the newness of life, and ascend with Him to his Father, by Him to be glorified with that glory which He had with his Father before the world began. Unto which kingdom, God Almighty conduct you, through this earthly pilgrimage. Amen."

VIII.

IT has been mentioned that William Penn, about the year 1671, travelled in the work of the ministry through some parts of the continent; but of that journey there is no particular account. By the labors of Friends, particularly William Penn and William Caton, a knowledge of the doctrines of the Society of Friends was spread on the continent; and a number had been convinced, and joined in fellowship with them.

In the Fourth month of 1676, we find William Penn leaving his family at Worminghurst, in Sussex, where he then lived, and attending the Yearly Meeting at London.

Soon after this he parted with his wife and family, in order to make a second visit, in the love of the Gospel, to Friends and others in Holland and Germany. Of this journey he has preserved an account, which was first published in the year 1694, from which the following is taken :

This ensuing "JOURNAL OF MY TRAVELS IN HOLLAND AND GERMANY," in the service of the Gospel of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was written for my own satisfaction, and that of some relations and particular friends, as the long time it has lain silent shows. But a copy that was found amongst the late Countess of Conway's papers, falling into the hands of a person who much frequented

that family, he was earnest with me, both by himself and others, to have leave to publish it for a common good.

Reader, this journal is of a religious voyage, and has some passages in it that may engage thy soul to seriousness, and let thee see how good God is to those that go of his holy errands.

On the 22d of the Fifth month, 1677, I left my dear wife and family at Worminghurst, in Sussex, in the fear and love of God. We set sail from Harwich about three o'clock in the morning of the 26th, being the fifth day of the week; and got the sixth day at night within half a league of the Briel. Those that came over were George Fox, Robert Barclay, G. Keith, G. Watts, John Furly, William Tallcoat, Isabel Yeomans, Elizabeth Keith, and myself, with two of our servants.

Finding letters at Amsterdam from the Friends of Dantzic, complaining of the heavy sufferings they underwent, informing us also that the King of Poland was there, and asking advice about an address to him, it fell upon me to write the following letter in the name of the Friends of Dantzic:

. “*To the King of Poland.*

“GREAT PRINCE!

“Actions of justice, mercy, and Truth are worthy of all men; but in a most excellent manner of the serious consideration of kings and princes. We, certain inhabitants of the city of Dantzic, have been long great sufferers, not for any wickedness committed against the royal law of God, or any breach of those civil laws of this city that relate to the well-government of it in all natural and civil

things, but purely and only for the cause of our tender consciences towards God.

“We believe that all true ministry and worship stand only in the experimental sense, operations, and leadings of the holy light, spirit, or grace that is shed abroad in the hearts of men and women, to conduct them in the holy way of regeneration unto life eternal. This was the ancient apostolical doctrine; they spoke what they had seen, tasted, and handled of the Word of God. And this is our faith, doctrine, and practice in this day.

“And be not displeased with us, oh, King, we entreat thee, if we give this for the reason of our absenting ourselves from the public and common ministry or worship; namely, that we have no taste or relish, no sense or evidence, that their ministry and worship are authorized and performed by the apostolical power and spirit of Jesus; but rather that they are the inventions, studies, and powers of man’s nature; all which are but strange fire, and therefore cannot kindle a true and acceptable sacrifice to God.

“For it is not man’s spirit and degenerate nature, speaking and professing the words of God’s Spirit, that giveth acceptance with the Lord, or administereth heavenly edification to men.

“And as this is the reason in the sight and presence of that God that made heaven and earth, and will judge the quick and dead, wherefore we cannot join in the common and public worship of these parts; so doth the same light and Spirit of God lay an holy necessity upon us, with a meek and quiet spirit to come together, after the manner of the ancient Christians, that were the true followers of Jesus; and with godly fear and a retired mind

to wait upon God, and meditate in his holy law of life that He hath written in our hearts, according to his new covenant promise; that He may feed us, teach us, strengthen us, and comfort us in our inward man. And, as by this Holy Spirit, according to the practice of the churches of old, any are inclined or moved to reprove, exhort, admonish, praise, or pray, we are found exercised in these holy practices.

“Now, oh, Prince! give us poor Christians leave to expostulate with thee. Did Christ Jesus or his holy followers endeavor, by precept or example, to set up their religion with a carnal sword? Called He any troops of men or angels to defend Him? Did He countenance his over-zealous disciples when they would have had fire from heaven to destroy those that were not of their mind? No; but did not Christ rebuke them, saying, ‘Ye know not what spirit ye are of?’

“Oh, King! when did the true religion persecute? When did the true church offer violence for religion? Were not her weapons prayers, tears, and patience? Did not Jesus conquer by those weapons, and vanquish cruelty by suffering? Can clubs and staves, swords and prisons and banishments reach the soul, convert the heart, or convince the understanding of man? When did violence ever make a true convert, or bodily punishments a sincere Christian?

“And here give us leave to remind thee of a noble saying of one of thy ancestors, Stephen, King of Poland: ‘I am king of men, not of consciences; king of bodies, not of souls.’ And there have been found, and still are, among the emperors, kings, princes, and states of the world, some

who have had that noble spirit of indulging their conscientious dissenting subjects. Be not thou less noble than they."

The ninth of the Sixth month we set forward for Herwerden, or Herford, and came thither at night. This is the city where the Princess Elizabeth Palatine of the Rhine hath her court; whom, and the countess in company with her, it was especially upon us to visit; and that upon several accounts. First, in that they are persons seeking after the best things. Secondly, in that they are actually lovers and favorers of those who separate themselves from the world for righteousness' sake.

The Princess is not only a private supporter of such, but gave protection to de Labadie himself and his company; yea, when they went under the reproachful name of Quakers about seven years since. This man was a Frenchman, who, being dissatisfied with the looseness and deadness of the French Protestants, even at Geneva itself, left them and came for Holland; and so vehemently declaimed against the apostasy of the priests and people there, that the clergy were enraged, and stirred up the magistrates against him, and the rather, because many followed him, and several women of great quality. Upon this, the Princess gave them an invitation, and they came and were protected by her. But since, some miscarriages falling out in that place, she thereupon, in good measure, withdrew her favor from them, and they removed to another place.

I was moved to visit this man and his company six years ago, and saw him and his two great disciples; but

they would not suffer me to see the people which I labored for. In that day I saw the airiness and unstableness of the man's spirit, and that a sect-master was his name. And it was upon me, both by word of mouth and writing, to let them know that the enemy would prevail against them to draw them into inconvenient things, if they came not to be stayed in the light of Jesus Christ, and to know the holy silence; and at last they would come to fall out one with another and moulder away; which is in some measure come to pass as I feared. For I clearly perceived that, though they had received some divine touches, there was a danger they would run out with them, and spend them like prodigals, not knowing then where to stay their minds for daily bread. Yea, though they were something angelical and like to the celestial bodies, yet, if they kept not their station, they would prove fallen stars.

The Countess was commendable in this, that she left all to join with a people who had a pretence at least to more spirituality and self-denial than was found in the national religion she was bred up in; for God had reached her, as she told me, about nine years ago, and that by an extraordinary way. It seemed to us a great pity that they should not be acquainted with the life and testimony of the true Quakers.

About a year since, Robert Barclay and Benjamin Furly took that city in the way from Fredericstadt to Amsterdam, and gave them a visit, in which they informed them somewhat of Friends' principles, and recommended the testimony of Truth to them, as both a nearer and more certain thing than the utmost of de Labadie's doctrine. They left them tender and loving.

But to return. Being arrived at that city, part of which is under her government, we gave her to understand it, desiring to know what time next day would be most proper for us to visit her. She sent us word she was glad that we were come, and should be ready to receive us next morning about the seventh hour.

The next morning being come, which was the sixth day of the week, we went, about the time she had appointed us, and found both her and the Countess ready to receive us, which they did with a more than ordinary expression of kindness. I can truly say it, and that in God's fear, I was very deeply and reverently affected with the sense that was upon my spirit of the great and notable day of the Lord, and the breakings-in of his eternal power upon all nations, and of the raising of the slain Witness to judge the world, who is the treasury of life and peace, of wisdom and glory to all that receive Him in the hour of his judgments and abide with Him. The sense of this deep and sure foundation which God is laying as the hope of eternal life and glory for all to build upon filled my soul with an holy testimony to them, which in a living sense was followed by my brethren, and so the meeting ended about the eleventh hour.

The Princess entreated us to stay and dine with her, but with due regard both to our testimony and to her at that time we refused it, desiring, if she pleased, another opportunity that day, to which she with all cheerfulness yielded, she herself appointing the second hour.

So we went to our quarters; and some time after we had dined we returned. The meeting soon began. There were several present besides the Princess and Countess.

It was at this meeting that the Lord in a more eminent manner began to appear. The eternal Word showed itself a hammer at this day, yea, sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder between the soul and the spirit, the joints and the marrow. Yea, this day was all flesh humbled before the Lord. It amazed one, shook another, broke another. The noble arm of the Lord was truly awakened, and the weight and work thereof bowed and tendered us also, after an unusual and extraordinary manner, that the Lord might work an heavenly sign before them and among them; that the majesty of Him that is risen among the poor Quakers might in some measure be known unto them; what God it is we serve, and what power it is we wait for and bow before. They had a sense and a discovery that day what would become of the glory of all flesh when God shall enter into judgment. Well, let my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth when I shall forget the loving-kindness of the Lord and the sure mercies of our God to us his travailling servants that day. O Lord, send forth thy light and thy truth that all nations may behold thy glory!

Thus continued the meeting till about the seventh hour; which done, with hearts and souls filled with holy thanksgivings to the Lord for his abundant mercy and goodness to us, we departed to our lodging, desiring to know whether our coming the next day might not be uneasy or unseasonable to her with respect to the affairs of her government, it being the last day of the week, when we were informed she was most frequently attended with addresses from her people. But with a loving and ready

mind she replied that she should be glad to see us the next morning, and at any time when we would.

The next morning, being the 11th of the Sixth month, we were there betwixt eight and nine; where, Robert Barclay falling into some discourse with the Princess, the Countess took hold of the opportunity, and whispered me to withdraw, to get a meeting for the more inferior servants of the house, who would have been bashful to present themselves before the Princess. And, blessed be the Lord, He was not wanting to us. The same blessed power that had appeared to visit them of high, appeared also to visit them of low degree, and we were all sweetly tendered and broken together; for virtue went forth of Jesus that day, and the life of our God was shed abroad amongst us as a sweet savor, for which their souls bowed before the Lord and confessed to our testimony.

About three in the afternoon we went to the Princess's; where being come, after some little time, the Princess and Countess put me in remembrance of a promise I made them in one of my letters out of England that I would give them an account, at some convenient time; of my first convincement, and of those tribulations and consolations which I had met withal in this way of the kingdom to which God hath brought me. After some pause I found myself very free and prepared, in the Lord's love and fear, to comply with their request. Among the rest present at these opportunities it must not be forgotten that there was a countess, sister to the Countess, then come to visit her, and a Frenchwoman of quality, the first behaving herself very decently, and the last was often deeply broken, and from a light, slighting carriage towards the very name of a

Quaker, she became very intimately and affectionately kind and respectful to us. They heard me with an earnest and tender attention, and I hope and believe the Lord hath made it profitable unto them.

The next morning we had a meeting among ourselves in our chamber, wherein the Lord refreshed us, and there was a great travail upon our spirits, that the Lord would stand by us that day and magnify the testimony of his own truth by us; that He might have a seed and people in that place to lift up a standard for his name.

The second hour being at hand, we went to the meeting, where were several, as well of the town as of the family. Oh, the day of the Lord livingly dawned upon us, and the searching life of Jesus was in the midst of us! The Word that never faileth them that wait for it, and abide in it, opened the way and unsealed the book of life; yea, the quickening power and life of Jesus wrought and reached to them, and virtue from him in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth, and blessedly distilled upon us his own heavenly life, sweeter than the spices with pure frankincense, yea, than the sweet-smelling myrrh that cometh from a far country. And as it began, so it was carried on, and so it ended; blessed be the name of the Lord, and confided in be our God forever!

We took our solemn-leave of them, recommending to them holy silence from all will-worship, and the workings, strivings, and images of their own mind and spirit; that Jesus might be felt by them in their hearts, his holy teachings witnessed and followed in the way of his blessed cross, which would crucify them unto the world, and the world unto them; that their faith, hope, and joy might

stand in Christ in them, the heavenly Prophet, Shepherd and Bishop; whose voice all that are truly sheep will hear and follow, and not the voice of any stranger whatever. So we left them in the love and peace of God, praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world.

At Frankfort we arrived on the 20th, and having made known our intentions of coming, two considerable persons came and met us about half a German mile from the city, informing us of several who were well affected in that town. Upon which we told them the end of our coming, and desired to have a meeting with them in the afternoon, which we easily obtained at the house of a merchant, one of the two that met us. The persons who resorted thither were generally people of considerable note, both of Calvinists and Lutherans, and we can say they received us with gladness of heart, and embraced our testimony with a broken and reverent spirit, thanking God for our coming amongst them, and praying that He would prosper his work in our hands. This engaged our hearts to make some longer stay in this city. We, therefore, desired another meeting the next day, which they cheerfully assented to; where several came who were not with us the day before, and the Lord who sent us into the land was with us, and by his power reached to them, inso-much that they confessed to the truth of our testimony.

Of these persons there were two women, one unmarried (Joanna Eleonora de Malane), the other a widow, both noble of birth, who had a deep sense of the power and presence of God which accompanied our testimony. Among some of those who have inclinations after God, a

fearful spirit together with the shame of the cross hath entered, against which our testimony in part striking, we took notice it was as life to these noble women, for that was it, as they told us, which had long oppressed them, and obstructed the work of the Lord amongst them. Therefore, said the young woman, "Our quarters are free for you; let all come that will come, and lift up your voices without fear, for," continued she, "it will never be well with us till persecution come, and some of us be lodged in the stadtthouse," that is the prison.

We left the peace of Jesus with them, and the same afternoon we departed out of that city, being the Fourth day of the week.

Here I wrote an epistle [from which we make extracts].

"To the churches of Jesus throughout the world, gathered and settled in his eternal light, power, and spirit, to be one holy flock, family, and household to the Lord.

"DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN :—The Lord of heaven and earth hath heard our cries, and the full time is come, yea, the appointed time is come, and the voice of the eternal Spirit in our hearts hath been heard on this wise many a time; awake thou that sleepest, and I will give thee life; arise out of the dust and shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee! And the Lord God hath given us that light by which we have comprehended the darkness in ourselves and in the world; and as we have believed in it, dwelt in it, and walked in it, we have received power to overcome the evil one in all his appearances in ourselves, and faithfully and boldly to testify against him in the world. And the

blood of Jesus, in this holy way of the light, have we felt in our souls, to cleanse us from unrighteousness, and give us to know the mystery of the fellowship of the Gospel one with another, which stands in life and immortality. And here we become an holy household and family unto God, that live in his presence day and night, to do his will, as becometh his children, redeemed and ransomed by the most precious blood of his Son, and no more to return to folly.

“And, Friends, let it never pass out of our remembrance, what our God hath done for us, since He hath made us a people. Hath He called us, and not protected us? Hath He not sheltered us in many a storm? Did He ever leave us under the reproaches and contradictions of men? Nay, hath He not spoken peace to us? Were we ever cast out by men, and He forsook us? No; the Lord hath taken us up. When were the gaols so close that He could not come in? And the dungeons so dark that He caused not his light to shine upon us? He hath brought us into the wilderness not to starve us, but to try us; yet not above our measure; for He fed us with manna from on high, with pure honey and water out of the rock, and gives his good Spirit to sustain us.

“And now, Friends, as I have been travelling in this dark and solitary land, the great work of the Lord in the earth has been often presented to my view, and the day of the Lord hath been deeply upon me, and my soul hath frequently been possessed with a holy and weighty concern for the glory of the name of the Lord, and the spreading of his everlasting Truth, and the prosperity of it through all nations; that the very ends of the earth may

look to Him, and may know Christ, the light, to be given to them for their salvation.

“And in the earnest and fervent motion of the power and Spirit of Jesus, I beseech you all, who are turned to the light of Christ which shineth in your hearts, and believe in it, that you carefully and faithfully walk in it in the same dread, awe, and fear in which you began; that that holy poverty of spirit which is precious in the eyes of the Lord, and was in the days of your first love, may dwell and rest with you; that you may daily feel the same heavenly hunger and thirst, the same lowliness and humility of mind, the same zeal and tenderness, and the same sincerity and love unfeigned; that God may fill you out of his heavenly treasure with the riches of life, and crown you with holy victory and dominion over the god and spirit of this world; that your alpha may be your omega, and your author your finisher, and your first love your last love; that so none may make shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, nor faint by the way. As in this state we are kept in holy watchfulness to God as in the beginning, the table which our Heavenly Father spreads, and the blessings with which He compasseth us about, shall not become a share unto us, nor shall we turn the grace and mercies of the Lord into wantonness; but we shall eat and drink in a holy fear, apparel ourselves in fear, buy and sell in fear, visit one another in fear, keep meetings, and there wait upon the Lord in fear; yea, whatsoever we take in hand to do, it shall be in the holy fear of God, and with a holy tenderness of his glory, and regard to the prosperity of his Truth; yea, we shall deny ourselves, not only in the unlawful things, but in the things that are

even lawful to us, for the sake of the many millions that are unconverted to God.

“For, my Friends and brethren, God hath laid upon us whom He hath honored with the beginning of his great work in the world, the care both of this age and of the ages to come. Therefore, let none be treacherous to the Lord, nor reward Him evil for good; nor betray his cause directly by wilful wickedness, nor indirectly by negligence and unfaithfulness, but be zealous and valiant for Truth on earth. O! let none lose their testimony, but hold it up for God; let thy gift be ever so small, thy testimony ever so little. Through thy whole conversation bear it for God; and be true to what thou art convinced of. And wait all upon the Lord that you may grow in your heavenly testimony, that life may fill your hearts, your houses, and your meetings; that you may daily wait to know, and to receive power to do the will of God on earth as it is heaven.

“And I must tell you that there is a breathing, hungering, seeking people, solitarily scattered up and down this great land of Germany, where the Lord hath sent me; and I believe it is the like in other nations. And our desire is that God would put it into the hearts of many of his faithful witnesses to visit the inhabitants of this country, where God hath a great seed of people to be gathered; that his work may go on in the earth till the whole earth be filled with his glory.’

“And it is under the deep and weighty sense of this approaching work, that the Lord God hath laid it upon me to write to you to wait for the further pourings out of the power and Spirit of the Lord; that nothing which is careless, sleepy, earthly, or exalted may get up, whereby to

displease the Lord and cause Him to withdraw his sweet and preserving presence from any that know Him.

“And all you, my dear Friends and brethren, who are in sufferings for the testimony of Jesus and a good conscience, look up to Jesus, the author and finisher of your faith; who, for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross and despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Father in the heavenly place; into which, if you faint not, you shall all be received after the days of your pilgrimage shall be at an end with a ‘Well done, good and faithful servant.’ Wherefore, let it not seem as if some strange thing had happened to you. It is the old quarrel—children of this world against the children of the Lord; those that are born after the flesh, warring against those that are born after the Spirit. So, your conflict is for the spiritual appearance of Christ Jesus against those that profess Him in words, but in works and conversation every day deny Him; doing despite to the spirit of grace in themselves, and those that are led by it.

“And to you all, who are the followers of the Lamb of God, who was dead, but is alive, and lives for evermore,—who is risen in your hearts as a bright shining light, and is leading you out of the nature and spirit of this world, in the path of regeneration,—I have this to say by way of holy encouragement unto you all; the Lord God that was, and is, and is to come, hath reserved for you the glories of the last days. And if the followers and martyrs of Jesus in ages past when the church was going into the wilderness and his witnesses into sackcloth, were, notwithstanding, so noble and valiant for the Truth on earth, that they loved not their lives unto the death, and suffered

joyfully the spoiling of their goods for the testimony of Jesus;—how much more ought you all to be encouraged unto faithfulness, who are come to the resurrection of the day which shall never more be eclipsed; in which the Bridegroom is to come, to fetch you his spouse out of the wilderness, to give you beauty for ashes, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; who will cover you with his Spirit, and adorn you with his fine linen, the righteousness of the saints.

“I am, in the faith, patience, tribulation, and hope of the kingdom of Jesus, your friend and brother,

WILLIAM PENN.”

It came upon me in this place to salute the Princess and Countess with this following epistle [of which we give part]:

“A salutation to Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, and Anna Maria de. Hornes, Countess of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.

“MY WORTHY FRIENDS:—Such as I have, such I give unto you; the dear and tender salutation of light, life, peace, and salvation by Jesus Christ, the blessed Lamb of God; with the unspeakable joy of which He has replenished my soul at this time that my cup overfloweth; which is the reward of those who cheerfully drink his cup of tribulations, love the cross, and triumph in all the shame, reproaches, and contradictions of the world that do attend it. My God take you by the hand and gently lead you through all the difficulties of regeneration; and as you have begun to know and love his sweet and tender drawings, so resign the whole conduct of your lives to Him.

“Dispute not away the precious sense that you have of Him, be it as small as a grain of mustard-seed, which is the least of all seeds; there is power in it, if you do but believe, to remove the greatest mountains of opposition.

“And, my friends, if you would profit in the way of God, despise not the day of small things in yourselves: know this, that to desire and sincerely to breathe after the Lord, is a blessed state. You must seek, before you find. Do you believe? make not haste; extinguish not those small beginnings by an over earnest or impatient desire of victory. God’s time is the best time; be you faithful, and your conflict shall end with glory to God, and the reward of peace to your own souls. Therefore love the judgment and love the fire; start not aside, neither flinch from the scorplings of it, for it will purify and refine you as gold seven times tried; then cometh the stamp and seal of the Lord upon his own vessel, holiness to Him forever; which He never gave, nor will give to reprobate silver, the state of the religious worshippers of the world. And herein be comforted, that Zion shall be redeemed through judgment, and her converts through righteousness; and after the appointed time of mourning is over, the Lord will give ‘beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.’ Then shall you be able to say, ‘Who is he that condemneth us? God hath justified us; there is no condemnation to us that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.’

“Wherefore, my dear friends, walk not not only after the fleshly lusts, but also not after the fleshly religions and worships of the world; for that which is not born of the

Spirit is flesh ; and all flesh shall wither as the grass, and the beauty of it shall fade away as the flower of the field, before God's Sun that is risen, and rising. But the Word of the Lord in which is life, and that life the light of men, shall endure forever, and give life eternal to them that love and walk in the light.

“And I entreat you, by the love you have for Jesus, have a care how you say Amen, by word or practice, to that which is not born of the Spirit. ‘Without me,’ saith J  sus, ‘you can do nothing.’ If so, what are they that pray, and preach, and sing without Jesus, and follow not Him in those duties, but even crucify Him in them ? O that I may find in you an ear to hear, and a heart to perceive and embrace these truths of Jesus !

“I was abundantly refreshed and comforted, in that God in measure made known the riches of his grace, and operation of his celestial power to you. With Him we leave our travails, affectionately recommending you to his Holy Spirit of grace, that you may be conformed to the image of his own dear Son, who is able and ready to preserve you. O stay your minds upon Him, and He will keep you in perfect peace, and abide with you forever !

“I am your true friend, ready to serve you with fervent love in the will of God,

WILLIAM PENN.”

That night we lodged at Frankenthal, and got the next morning, being the seventh day of the week, to Mannheim ; but were disappointed of our design, which was to speak with the Prince ; for he was gone the day before to Heidelberg, his chief city, about fifteen English miles from that place. Considering, that by reason of the meeting

next day with Friends at Krisheim, already appointed, we could neither go forward nor stay till he returned; and yet being not clear to come away, as if we had never endeavored to visit him, it was upon me to write him this following letter, to let him know we had been there, and our end in coming. [The following is extracted]:

“ To the Prince Elector Palatine of Heidelberg.

“ GREAT PRINCE:—It would seem strange that I, both a stranger and a subject, should use this freedom of address to a prince, were he not one whose actions show him to be of a free disposition, and easy access to all; would to God all princes were of that mind!

“ I do, with all sincere and Christian respect, acknowledge and commend that indulgence thou givest to all people professing religion, dissenting from the national communion; for it is in itself a most natural, prudent, and Christian thing.

“ It rendereth the prince peculiarly safe and great. Safe, because all interests, for interest' sake, are bound to love and court him. Great, in that he is not governed or clogged with the power of his clergy; which in most countries is not only a co-ordinate power, a kind of duumvirateship in government, *imperium in imperio*, at least an eclipse to monarchy, but a superior power, and rideth the prince to their designs, holding the helm of the government, and steering not by the laws of civil freedom, but certain ecclesiastical maxims of their own, to the maintenance and enlargement of their worldly empire in their church. And all this acted under the sacred, peaccable, and alluring name of Christ, his ministry, and church.

“One thing give me leave to recommend to thee, and that is to be very careful to inculcate generous, free, and righteous principles into thy son who is likely to succeed thee, that when thou art gone the reputation of the country may not sink by contrary practices, nor the people of divers judgments, now thy subjects, be disappointed, distressed, or ruined. Which, with sincere desires for thy temporal and eternal good, conclude this,

“Thy unknown, but sincere friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

“From Manheim, 25th of Sixth month, 1677.”

This being done, and having refreshed ourselves, we returned that night by the Rhine to Worms, whence, the next morning, being the first day of the week, we walked on foot to Krisheim, about six English miles from Worms. We had a good meeting from the tenth to the third hour, and the Lord's power was sweetly opened to many of the inhabitants of the town who were at the meeting. The Vaught, or chief officer, himself stood at the door behind the barn, where he could hear and not be seen, and went to the priest and told him that it was his work, if we were heretics, to discover us to be such, but for his part he heard nothing but what was good, and he would not meddle with us.

In the evening we had a more retired meeting of the Friends only, very weighty and tender, and great was the love of God that was in our hearts at the meeting to visit them, and there is a lovely, sweet, and true sense among them. We were greatly comforted in them and they were greatly comforted in us. Poor hearts! a little handful sur-

rounded with great and mighty countries of darkness, it is the Lord's great goodness and mercy to them that they are so finely kept in the seed of life.

We came down the river Rhine to Montz and took an open chariot for Frankfort. We presently informed some of those people that had received us the time before of our return to that city, with desires that we might have a meeting that afternoon, which was readily granted us by the noble women at whose house we met, whither resorted some that we had not seen before. And the Lord did after a living manner open our hearts and mouths amongst them. Before we parted, we desired a select meeting the next morning at the same place of those that we felt to be more inwardly affected with Truth's testimony, and that were nearest to the state of a silent meeting, to which they joyfully assented.

We went to our lodging, and on the 29th returned to them, with whom we had a blessed and heavenly opportunity, for we had room for our life amongst them. It was as among faithful Friends, life ran as oil and was a-top of all.

We recommended a silent meeting to them, that they might grow into a holy silence unto themselves; that the mouth that calls God Father and is not of his own birth may be stopped, and all images confounded; that they may hear the soft voice of Jesus to instruct them, and receive his sweet life to feed them and to build them up.

We set out towards the city of Duysburg, of the Calvinist way, belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg, in and near to which we had been informed there was a retired and seeking people.

We arrived there on the second of Seventh month, about noon, being the first day of the week. The first thing we did, after we came to our inn, was to inquire out one Dr. Mastricht, a civilian, for whom we had a letter, to introduce us, from a merchant of Cologne; whom quickly finding, we informed him what we came about, desiring his assistance, which he readily promised us. The first thing we offered was an access to the Countess of Falkenstein and Bruck. He told us she was an extraordinary woman, one in whom we should find things worthy of our love; that he would write to her to give us an opportunity with her; that the fittest time was the present time, in that we might find her at the minister's, of Mulheim, on the other side of the river from her father's castle; for that she used to come out on First day morning, and not return till night; that we must be very shy of making ourselves public, not only for our own sakes, but for hers, who was severely treated by her father, for the sake of those religious inclinations that appeared in her, although her father pretended to be of the Protestant religion.

We therefore despatched towards Mulheim, having received his letter, and being also accompanied by him about one-third of the way. But being six English miles, and on foot, we could not compass the place before the meeting was over; for it was past three before we could get out of Duysburg; and, following that way which led to the back of the Graef's castle and orchard, which was also a common way to the town (though if we had known the country we might have avoided it), we met with one Henry Smith, school-master and catechiser of Speldorp,

to whom we imparted our business, and gave the letter of Dr. Mastricht of Dussburg to introduce us to the Countess.

He told us he had just left her, being come over the water from worship, but he would carry the letter to her, and bring an answer suddenly; but notwithstanding staid near an hour. When he came, he gave us this answer, namely, that she would be glad to meet us, but she did not know where; but rather inclined that we should go over the water to the minister's house, whither, if she could, she would come to us; but that a strict hand was held over her by her father. After some serious discourse with him, we parted; he returning homewards, and we advancing to the town. Being necessitated to pass by her father's castle, who is seignior or lord of that country, it so fell out that at that very instant he came forth to walk; and seeing us in the habit of strangers, sent one of his attendants to demand who and from whence we were? and whither we went? calling us afterwards to him, and asking us the same questions. We answered, that we were Englishmen, come from Holland, going no further in these parts than his own town of Mulheim. But not showing him, or paying him, that worldly homage and respect which was expected from us, some of his gentlemen asked us if we knew whom we were before? and if we did not use to deport ourselves after another manner before noblemen, and in the presence of princes? We answered we were not conscious to ourselves of any disrespect or unseemly behavior. One of them sharply replied, "Why do you not pull off your hats, then? Is it respect to stand covered in the presence of the sovereign of the country?" We told them it was our practice, in

the presence of our prince, who is a great king, and that we uncovered not our heads to any, but in our duty to Almighty God. Upon which the Graef called us Quakers, saying to us, "We have no need of Quakers here; get you out of my dominions, you shall not go to my town."

We told him we were an innocent people, that feared God, and had good will towards all men; that we had true respect in our hearts towards him, and would be glad to do him any real good or service; and that the Lord had made it matter of conscience to us not to conform ourselves to the vain and fruitless customs of this world, or words to this purpose. However, he commanded some of his soldiers to see us out of his territories, to whom we also declared somewhat of the reason and intention of our coming to that place, in the fear and love of God, and they were civil to us.

We parted with much peace and comfort in our hearts, and as we passed through the village where the school-master dwelt (yet in the dominions of the Graef), we called upon him, and in the sense of God's power and kingdom opened to him the message and testimony of Truth, which the man received with a weighty and serious spirit. Under the dominion of the Graef, there is a large congregation of Protestants called Calvinists, of a more religious, inward, and zealous frame of spirit than any body of people we met with or heard of in Germany.

After we had ended our testimony to him, we took our leave; desiring him not to fear, but to be of good courage, for the day of the Lord was hastening upon all the workers of iniquity; and to them that feared his name, wherever scattered throughout the earth, He would cause

the Sun of righteousness to arise and visit them, with healing under his wings. We desired he would remember us with true love and kindness to the Countess, daughter to the Graef, and to desire her not to be offended in us, nor to be dismayed at the displeasure of her father, but eye the Lord who hath visited her soul with his holy light, by which she seeth the vanity of this world, and in some measure the emptiness and deadness of the religions that are in it; and He would preserve her from the fear of the wrath of men, that worketh not the righteousness of God. So we left the peace of Jesus with him, and walked on towards Duysburg, being about six English miles from thence, and near the eighth hour at night. The Lord was with us, and comforted our hearts with the joy of his salvation, as we walked, without any outward guide, through a tedious and solitary wood, about three miles long. He gave us to remember and to speak one unto another of his blessed witnesses in the days past, who wandered up and down like poor pilgrims and strangers on the earth, their eye being to a city in the heavens that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

Between nine and ten o'clock we reached the walls of Duysburg; but the gates were shut, and there being no houses without the walls, we laid us down together in a field, receiving both natural and spiritual refreshment: blessed be the Lord. About three o'clock in the morning we rose, sanctifying God in our hearts, who had kept us that night, and walked till five o'clock, often speaking one to another of the great and notable day of the Lord dawning upon Germany, and of several places in that land that were almost ripe unto harvest.

Soon after the clock had struck five, they opened the gates of the city, and we had not long been at our inn, when it came upon me, with a sweet, yet fervent power, to visit this persecuted Countess with a salutation from the love and life of Jesus, and to open unto her more plainly the way of the Lord, which I did in this following epistle:

*“ To the Countess of Falkenstein and Bruck, at
Mulheim.*

“MY DEAR FRIEND:—Jesus, the immaculate Lamb of God, grieved and crucified by all the workers of iniquity, illuminate thy understanding, bless and be with thy spirit forever!

“Though unknown, yet art thou much beloved, for the sake of thy desires and breathings of soul after the living God; and because of that suffering and tribulation thou hast begun to endure for the sake of thy zeal towards God; myself having from my childhood been both a seeker after the Lord, and a great sufferer for that cause, from parents, relations, companions, and the magistrates of this world. The remembrance whereof hath so much the more endeared thy condition unto me; and my soul hath often, in the sweet sense and feeling of the holy presence of God, and the precious life of his dear Son in my heart, with great tenderness implored his Divine assistance unto thee, that thou mayst both be illuminated to do, and made willing to suffer for his name's sake; that the Spirit of God and of glory may rest upon thy soul.

“Know certainly that which hath discovered unto thee

the vanities of this world, the emptiness and the fading of all earthly glory, the blessedness of the righteous, and the joy of the world that is to come, is the light of Christ Jesus, wherewith He hath enlightened thy soul; for, 'in Him was life, and that life is the light of mankind.' Thus God promised by the prophet Isaiah, to give Him 'for a light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his salvation to the ends of the earth.' So that Christ the Light is God's gift, and eternal life is hid in Him, yea, all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; who is the light of the Gospel temple, even true believers. And all who receive this light into their hearts, and bring their deeds to it, to see in what ground they are wrought, whether in God or in the evil one, and make this blessed light the guide of their life; fearing, with a holy fear, to do anything that this light manifests to be evil; waiting and watching with a godly care, to be preserved blameless before the Lord. I say, all such become children of light, and witnesses of the life of Jesus. O blessed wilt thou be forever, if in the way of this holy light thy mind walks to the end!

"Let this that hath visited thee lead thee; this seed of light and life, which is the seed of the kingdom. Yea, it is CHRIST, the true and only seed of God, that visited my soul, even in my young years; that spread my sins in order before me, reprov'd me, and brought godly sorrow upon me, making me often to weep in solitary places, and say within my soul, 'O that I knew the Lord as I ought to know Him! O that I served Him as I ought to serve Him!' Yea, often was there a great concern upon my spirit about my eternal state, mournfully desiring that the Lord would give my soul rest in the great day of

trouble. Now was all the glory of the world as a bubble ; yea, nothing was dear to me that I might win Christ, for the love, friendship, and pleasure of this world were a burden unto my soul. And in this seeking state I was directed to the testimony of Jesus in my own conscience, as the true shining light, giving me to discern the thoughts and intents of my own heart. And no sooner was I turned unto it, but I found it to be that which from my childhood had visited me, though I distinctly knew it not. And when I received it in the love of it, it showed me all that ever I had done, and reprov'd all the unfruitful works of darkness, judging me as a man in the flesh, and laying judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet in me. And as by the brightness of his coming into my soul, He discovered the man of sin there upon his throne ; so by the breath of his mouth, which is the two-edged sword of his Spirit, he destroyeth his power and kingdom. And having made me a witness of the death of the cross, He hath also made me a witness of his resurrection. So that in good measure my soul can now say I am justified in the spirit, and though the state of condemnation unto death was glorious, yet justification unto life was and is more glorious.

“In this state of the new man all is new. Behold, new heavens and a new earth ! Old things come to be done away ; the old man with his deeds put off. Now, new thoughts, new desires, new affections, new love, new friendship, new society, new kindred, new faith, even that which overcometh this world through many tribulations ; and new hope, even that living hope that is founded upon true experience, which holds out all storms, and can see to

the glory that is invisible to carnal eyes, in the midst of the greatest tempest.

“It is the same blessed seed of light, life, and grace which from God the Father is sown in thy heart, and which hath moved and wrought there the change which thou hast witnessed from the spirit of this world. Turn to it, watch in it, that by it thou mayst be kept from all that it discovers to be contrary to God; especially from thyself, from thy own runnings, willings, and strivings. For whatsoever is not born of the Spirit is flesh, and that inherits not the kingdom of God; but all that sow to it shall inherit corruption. By this thou wilt come to feel, not only all sin to be a burden, but all thy own righteousness; yea, all man’s righteousness to be a burden. Thou wilt see the difference between the duties and prayers which thou begettest and the duties and prayers which, in thy true silence from all self-activity of mind, the Lord begets in thee.

“O that thou mightst know the mystery of the new birth, and what that is that can truly call God, Father; even that which is begotten of Him, which liveth, and breatheth, and hath its beginning and being in that life which is hid with Christ in God, and by which it hath been quickened to the knowledge and worship of Christ and God. And this thou shalt not fail to know and enjoy, as thou patiently sufferest the Lord to work his own work in thee by his own blessed Spirit. And that which will give thee to savor and discern the right motions and conceptions, duties and performances in thyself from the false, will give thee to savor and discern that which is right from that which is false in others; that which is of God from that which is of man.

“Have a care of gathering sticks and kindling a fire of thy own, and then compassing thyself about with the sparks of the fire which thou hast kindled, for the end of this state is to lie down in sorrow, because the heavenly fire is absent which maketh the sacrifice acceptable. Without Christ we can do nothing, and blessed are they that stir not before the angel moveth the waters, and go not before Christ, but are led by Him, and that awaken not their Beloved till He please; in whose hands the times and the seasons are. O blessed are they whose eyes are opened to see Him always present, a God always nigh at hand, whose hearts are stayed upon his holy appearance in them, and are thereby translated into his likeness; whose faith and hope are in Christ in them, the hope of glory.

“My dear friend, weigh these things with a serious, retired, sweet, and tender frame of spirit, and God, who hath called me and thee by the light of his dear Son, open thy understanding to perceive the Truth as it is in Jesus, and what is the mystery of the fellowship of the saints in light. So to the Lord I recommend thee, the watchman and keeper of Israel. The Lord be thy strength and holy comfort, and speak peace to thee, and never leave thee nor forsake thee till He hath conducted thee, through all tribulations, to his everlasting kingdom of rest and glory.

“O dear heart! be valiant, and stay thyself upon Christ Jesus, the everlasting rock, and feel Him a fountain in thy soul; feel his blood to cleanse, and his blood to drink, and his flesh to eat; feed upon Him, for God hath given Him for the life of the world.

“I had seen thee, had not thy father’s strange sort of severity hindered. And this let me add for thy particular comfort, that though I have been a man of great anguish and sorrow because of the scorn and reproach that hath attended my separation from the world (having been taught of Jesus to turn my back upon all for the sake of that glory that shall be revealed), yet to God’s honor I can say it, I have a hundred friends for one. Yea, God hath turned the hearts of my enemies towards me; He hath fulfilled his promise to turn the hearts of the parents unto the children. For my parents, that once disowned me for this blessed testimony’s sake, have come to love me above all, and have left me all, thinking they could never do and leave enough for me. O how good is the Lord! yea, the ways of his mercy are even past finding out.

“Wherefore, my dear friend, trust in the Lord forever; and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of the prophets and of the apostles, the God of all the holy martyrs of Jesus, illuminate, fortify, and preserve thee steadfast, that in the end thou mayst receive the reward of life and eternal salvation, to whom be glory, and to the Lamb that sits upon the throne, one God and one Lord, blessed and magnified forever and ever. Amen.

“Thy great and faithful lover for the blessed and holy Truth’s sake,

WILLIAM PENN.

“DUYSBURG, the 13th of the Seventh month, 1677.”

Here follows a letter to her father, the Graef of Bruck and Falkenstein [of which we give a part]:

“ To the Graef or Earl of Bruck and Falkenstein.

“ FRIEND :—I wish thy salvation, and the Lord reward thee good for the evil that thou showedst unto me and my friends the last night, if it be his will. But since thou art but a mortal man, one that must give an account, in common with all, to the immortal God, let me a little expostulate with thee.

“ For thy saying, ‘ We want no Quakers here,’ I say, under favor, you do ; for a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the word of the Lord, that worketh out his salvation with fear and trembling, and all the days of his appointed time waiteth in the light and grace of God till his great change cometh. One that taketh up the daily cross to his will and lusts, that he might do the will of God manifested to him by the light of Jesus in his conscience, and according to the holy precepts and examples in the Holy Scriptures of Truth, laid down by Jesus and his followers for the ages to come. Yea, he is one that loveth his enemies rather than feareth them ; that blesseth those that curse him, and prayeth for those that despitefully treat him, as God knoweth we do for thee. Oh that thou wert such a Quaker ! Then wouldst thou rule for God, and act in all things as one that must give an account to God for the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Then would temperance, mercy, justice, meekness, and the fear of the Lord dwell in thy heart, and in thy family, and country.

“ Repent, I exhort thee, and consider thy latter end, for thy days are not like to be many in this world ; therefore, mind the things that make for thy eternal peace, lest

distress come upon thee as an armed man, and there be none to deliver thee !

“ I am thy well-wishing friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

“ DUBSBERG, 3d of the Seventh month, 1677.”

This being done, we went to Dr. Mastricht's to inform him of what had passed, who, though of a kind disposition and very friendly to us, yet seemed surprised with fear, (the common disease of this country,) crying out, “ What will become of this poor Countess? Her father hath called her Quaker a long time, behaving himself very severely to her, but now he will conclude she is one indeed, and he will lead her a lamentable life. I know,” said he, “ you care not for suffering, but she is to be pitied.” We told him that we both loved her and pitied her, and could lay down our lives for her, as Christ hath done for us in the will of God, if we could thereby do her good ; but that we had not mentioned her name, neither was the letter that he gave us to her so much as seen or known of her father. But still he feared that our carriage would incense the Graef so much the more against both his daughter, and all those serious and inquiring people up and down his country. We answered with an earnestness of spirit that they had minded the incensings and wrath of men too much already, and that true religion would never spring or grow under such fears, and that it was time for all who felt anything of the work of God in their hearts, to cast away the slavish fear of man, and to come forth in the boldness of the true Christian life ; yea, that sufferings break and make way for greater liberty, and that God was wiser and stronger than man.

It was now something past the twelfth hour of the day. In the way to our lodging we met a messenger from the Countess of Falkenstein, a tender young man, near to the kingdom, who saluted us in her name with much love; telling us that she was much grieved at the entertainment of her father towards us, advising us not to expose ourselves to such difficulties and hardships, for it would grieve her heart that any who came in the love of God to visit her, should be so severely handled; for at some he set his dogs, upon others he puts his soldiers to beat them. "But what shall I say? that itself must not hinder you from doing good," said the Countess. We desired the remembrance of our kind love unto her, and that he would let her know that our concern was not for ourselves, but for her.

It came upon me to write a letter to the noble young woman at Frankfort, as follows:

"DEAR FRIEND, JOANNA ELEONORA MALANE:—My dear and tender love, which God hath raised in my heart by his living word to all mankind, (but more especially unto those in whom He hath begotten a holy hunger and thirst after Him,) saluteth thee. And amongst those of that place where thou livest the remembrance of thee, with thy companions, is most particularly and eminently at this time brought before me. And the sense of your open-heartedness, simplicity, and sincere love to the testimony of Jesus delivered by us unto you hath deeply engaged my heart towards you, and often raised in my soul heavenly breathings to the God of my life that He would keep you in the daily sense of that divine life which then

affected you. For this know, it was the life in yourselves that so sweetly visited you, by the ministry of life through us.

“Wherefore, love the divine life and light in yourselves. Be retired and still. Let that holy seed move in all heavenly things before you move; for no one receiveth anything that truly profiteth but what he receiveth from above. Thus said John to his disciples. Now that that stirreth in your hearts draweth you out of the world, slayeth you to all the vain glory, and pleasure, and empty worships that are in it; this is from above, the heavenly seed of God, pure and incorruptible, which is come down from heaven to make you heavenly, that in heavenly places you may dwell, and witness with the saints of old this heavenly treasure in earthen vessels.

“O stay your minds upon the appearance of Jesus in you, in whose light you shall see light. It will make you of a weighty, considering spirit more and more, that you may see how the mystery of iniquity hath wrought, and how mankind is corrupted in all things, and what part you yet have which belongeth not to the paradise of God, that you may lay it all down at the feet of Jesus, and follow Him, who is going up and down doing good to all that believe in his name. So possess your souls in the sensible feeling of his daily divine visits, shinings, and breathings upon your spirits, and wait diligently and watch circumspectly, lest the enemy surprise you, or your Lord come at unawares upon you, and you be unprepared to receive his sweet and precious visitations.

“Thy faithful friend and the Lord’s day-laborer,

WILLIAM PENN.”

We took wagon for Wiewart, the mansion-house of the family of the Somerdykes, where J. de Labadie's company reside, it being strong upon my spirit to give them a visit. We got thither about five o'clock; and as we were walking over a field to the house we met a young man of that company who conducted us in. I asked for Ivon, the pastor, and Anna Maria Schurmans. Ivon presently came with his co-pastor. They received us very civilly, however. They seemed shy of letting me speak with Anna Maria Schurmans, objecting her weakness, age, taking physic, etc.; but, putting them in mind how unhandsomely I was used at Herwerden six years ago by J. de Labadie, their father, who, though I came a great journey to visit him and his people, suffered me not to speak with them, they presently complied, and went in to let her know that such a person desired to speak with her, and quickly returned, desiring me to come in; but, foreseeing my time would be too short for my message, the sun being near setting and having to go on foot two English miles of unknown way to our lodging, I desired that they would give me an opportunity the next morning, which they readily complied with. So I took my leave of them, who in a friendly manner brought us a little on our way. That night a great weight was upon my spirit, and especially the next morning; yet my faith was in the power of God, and I had a plain sight that I should have a good service among them; however, I should clear my conscience, and my peace should rest with me.

The next morning I returned to them, and John Claus along with me. So soon as we came we were brought

into Anna Maria Schurmans' chamber, where also was with her one of the three Somerdykes.

This Anna Maria Schurmans aforesaid is an ancient maiden above sixty years of age, of great note and fame for learning in languages and philosophy, and hath obtained a considerable place among the most learned men of this age. The Somerdykes are daughters to a nobleman of the Hague, people of great breeding and inheritances. These, with several other persons, being affected with the zealous declamation of J. de Labadie against the dead and formal churches of the world, and awakened to seek after a more spiritual fellowship and society, separated themselves from the common Calvinistic churches, and followed him in the way of a refined independency.

They are a serious, plain people, and are come nearer to Friends as to silence in meetings, women speaking, preaching by the Spirit, plainness in garb and furniture in their houses. With these two we had the company of the two pastors and a doctor of physic. After some silence, I proposed this question to them: What was it that induced them to separate from the common way they formerly lived in? I desired them that they would be pleased to be plain and open with me as to the ground of their separation; for I came not to cavil, but in a Christian spirit to be informed.

Upon this, Ivon, the chief pastor, gave us the history of J. de Labadie's education; how he was bred among the Jesuits, and deserted them and embraced the Protestant religion; and finally, of his great dissatisfaction with the Protestant churches of France; and that if God would not give them a purer church, they three would sit down by

themselves, resolving never more to mix themselves among the Babylonish assemblies of the world, adding several solemn appeals concerning the simplicity and integrity of their hearts in these things.

Ivon having done, Anna Maria Schurmans began in this manner: "I find myself constrained to add a short testimony." She told us her former life, of her pleasure in learning, and her love to the religion she was brought up in; but confessed she knew not God or Christ truly all that while. And though from a child God had visited her at times, yet she never felt such a powerful stroke as by the ministry of J. de Labadie. She saw her learning to be vanity and her religion like a body of death; she resolved to despise the shame, desert her former way of living and acquaintance, and to join herself with this little family that was retired out of the world; among whom she desired to be found a living sacrifice, offered up entirely to the Lord. She spoke in a very serious and broken sense, not without some trembling. These are but short hints of what she said.

After she had done, one of the Somerdykes began in a very reverent and weighty frame of mind, and in a sense that very well suited her contempt of the world. She told us how often she had mourned from her young years because she did not know the Lord as she desired, often saying within herself, "If God would make known to me his ways, I would trample upon all the pride and glory of the world." She earnestly expressed the frequent anguish of spirit she had because of the deadness and formality of the Christians she was bred among, saying to herself, "Oh, the pride, the lusts, the vain pleasures in which Christians

nive! Can this be the way to heaven? Is this the way to glory? Are these followers of Christ? Oh, no! Oh, God! where is thy little flock? Where is thy little family that will live entirely to thee—that will follow thee? Make me one of that number.” “And,” continued she, “when the servant of the Lord, J. de Labadie, came into Holland, I, among others, had a curiosity to hear him, and with several was deeply affected by him. He spoke the very thoughts of my heart; methought my heart was pricked when I heard him; and I resolved by the grace of God to abandon all the glory and pride of this world, to be one of those who should sit down with him in a separation from the vain and dead worships of this world. I count myself happy that I ever met with him and these pastors, who seek not themselves but the Lord. And we are a family that live together in love, of one soul and one spirit, entirely given up to serve the Lord; and this is the greatest joy in the world.”

After her, du Lignon, the other pastor, gave us also an account of his inducement to embrace J. de Labadie, but not so lively.

After him, the doctor of physic, who had been bred for a priest, but voluntarily refused that calling, expressed himself after this manner: “I can also bear my testimony in the presence of God that though I lived in as much reputation at the university as any of my colleagues or companions, and was well reputed for sobriety and honesty, yet I never felt such a living sense of God as when I heard the servant of the Lord, J. de Labadie,” adding, “The first day I heard him, I was so struck and affected that I can truly say, through the good grace of God, and the conduct

of the Holy Spirit, it was to me as the day of my salvation, he did so livingly touch my heart with a sense of the true Christian worship; upon which I forsook the university and resolved to be one of this family; and this I can say in the fear of the Lord."

P. Ivon concluded: "This is what we have to say concerning the work of God amongst us."

All this while I minded not so much their words as I felt and had unity with a measure of divine sense that was upon them. Certainly the Lord hath been amongst them; yea, I had a living sense in my heart that somewhat of the breath of life had breathed upon them; and though they were in great mixtures, yet God's love was towards them.

After some silence I began on this wise: "I come not to judge you, but to visit you; not to quarrel or dispute, but to speak of the things of God's kingdom; and I have no prejudice, but great love and regard in my heart towards you; wherefore, hear me with Christian patience and tenderness.

"I do confess and believe that God hath touched your hearts with his divine finger, and that his work is amongst you; that it was his Spirit that gave you a sight of the vanity and folly of this world, and that hath made you sensible of the dead religions that are in it. It is this sense I love and honor; and I am so far from undervaluing or opposing this tender sense I feel upon you, that this it is I am come to visit, and you for the love of it. And as for the reproaches that may attend you on the score of your separation, with all the reports that therefore go concerning you, they are what I respect you for, being well

acquainted with the nature and practice of this world towards those that retire out of it.

“Now since I have with patience, and I can truly say with great satisfaction, heard your account of your experiences, give me the like Christian freedom to tell you mine, to the end you may have some sense of the work of God in me; for those who are come to any measure of a Divine sense. they are as looking-glasses to each other, seeing themselves in each other, as face answereth face in a glass.”

Here I began to let them know how and when the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno 1656. How at times, between that and the fifteenth, the Lord visited me, and the divine impressions He gave me of himself; of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery; of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father—whipping, beating, and turning out of doors in 1662; of the Lord’s dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London. In fine, the deep sense He gave me of the vanity of this world—of the irreligiousness of the religions of it. Then of my mournful and bitter cries to Him that He would show me his own way of life and salvation, and my resolutions to follow Him, whatever reproaches or sufferings should attend me; and that with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How, after all this, the glory of the world overtook me, and I was even ready to give up myself unto it, seeing as yet no such thing as the primitive spirit and church on the earth, and being ready to faint concerning my hope of the restitution of all things. It

was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his eternal word, through one of those the world calls a Quaker, namely, Thomas Loe. I related to them the bitter mockings and scornings that fell upon me, the displeasure of my parents, the invectiveness and cruelty of the priests, the strangeness of all my companions; what a sign and wonder they made of me; but, above all, that great cross of resisting and watching against my own inward vain affections and thoughts.

Here I had a fine opportunity to speak of the mystery of iniquity and ungodliness in the root and ground, and to give them an account of the power and presence of God which attended us in our public testimonies and sufferings; after an indirect manner censuring their weaknesses by declaring and commending the contrary practices among Friends, too large to be here related. And notwithstanding all my sufferings and trials by magistrates, parents, companions, and, above all, from the priests of the false religions in the world, the Lord hath preserved me to this day, and hath given me an hundred-fold in this world as well as the assurance of life everlasting; informing them of the tenderness of my father to me before and at his death; and how through patience and long-suffering all opposition was conquered. Then I began my exhortation unto them, which was on this wise:

That since God had given me and them a Divine sense of Him, our eye should be to Him and not to man; that we might come more into a silence of ourselves, and a growth into that heavenly sense. That this was the work of the true ministry, not to keep people to themselves, ever teaching them, but to turn them to God, the new covenant

teacher, and to Christ, the great Gospel minister. Thus John did, and thought it no dishonor that they left him to go to Christ. "Behold the Lamb of God," said he, "that taketh away the sins of the world!" And even John's disciples left him to follow Christ. Nay, John testifies of himself that he was to decrease and Christ was to increase. Wherefore I pressed them to have their eye to Christ, who taketh away the sin; who is from heaven heavenly; to see that He increase in them. Yea, that henceforward they should know no man after the flesh. That their knowledge of, and regard for and fellowship, one with another should stand in the revelation of the Son of God in them, who is God's great prophet, by whom God speaketh in these latter days. And if their ministers be true ministers they will count it their glory to give way to Christ, and that they decrease and Christ increase; that the instrument giveth way to him that useth it, the servant to the Lord. Which, though it seemeth to detract from the ministers, yet it was, and is, the glory of a true minister that God and Christ should be all in all, and that his will should be fulfilled. I told them the day of the Lord God was come, and all people must look to Him for salvation; that all people must now come to keep God's great sabbath, to rest from mere man and the spirit of man, and all men's thoughts, words, and works; and that if they were true believers they were at least entering into their rest.

I left the blessing and peace of Jesus among them, departing in the love and peace of God; and I must needs say they were, beyond expectation, tender and respectful to us. The Lord comforted my soul in this service; yea,

all that is within me magnified his holy name, because of his blessed presence that was with us.

The two pastors and the doctor came with us a field's length, where we took wagon, and the chiefest of them took occasion to ask me if the Truth rose not first amongst a poor, illiterate, and simple sort of people? I told him yes, that was our comfort, and that we owed it not to the learning of this world. "Then," said he, "let not the learning of this world be used to defend that which the spirit of God hath brought forth, for scholars now coming among you will be apt to mix school learning amongst your simpler and purer language, and thereby obscure the brightness of the testimony." I told him it was good for us all to have a care of our own spirits, words, and works, confessing what he said had weight in it; telling him it was our care to write and speak according to the Divine sense, and not human invention. So in a very sober and serious manner we parted, being about the twelfth hour at noon.

The next morning about seven o'clock, being the 16th of the Seventh month, we took boat for Embden, which is about three leagues. On board of that vessel it came upon me to write a letter to Friends in England concerning the Separatists. (Wilkinson and Story and their followers, who had caused a schism among Friends on the subject of church discipline.)

"To Friends everywhere, concerning the present Separatists, and their spirit of separation.

"FRIENDS AND BRETHREN.—By a mighty hand and by an outstretched arm, hath the Lord God everlasting gath-

ered us to be a people, and in his own power and life hath He preserved us a people unto this day; and praises be to his eternal name! no weapon that hath yet been formed against us, either from without or from within, hath prospered.

“ Now, this I say unto you, and that in his counsel who hath visited us;—whoever goeth out of the unity with their brethren, are first gone out of unity with the power and life of God in themselves, in which the unity of the brethren standeth; and the least member of the body in the unity standeth on the top of them, and hath a judgment against them. Unto which judgment, of both great and small amongst the living family that in unity are preserved, they must bow before they can come into the unity again. Yea, this they will readily do, if they are come into unity with the life and power of God in themselves, which is the holy root that beareth the tree, the fruit, and the leaves, all receiving life and virtue from it, and thereby are nourished unto God’s praise.

“ I feel this unruly spirit is tormented under the stroke and judgment of the power, and in its subtlety is seeking occasion against the instruments, by whom the power gave it forth. Let all have a care how they touch with this spirit in those workings, for by being one with this spirit in judging those who have been faithful, according to the gift of wisdom they have received from God, they will feed it and fortify it, and in the end come to be one with it against the power itself, and at last run out and become open enemies and despisers, for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever unless they repent.

“ Wherefore, all that labor for the restoration of those

who are out of unity with the brethren, let them be such as are of a sound mind themselves, else what will they gather to? or what will they gather from? And let them labor in the simplicity, integrity, love, and zeal of the power that first gathered us to God. For that which is rightly gotten will endure, but that which is obtained by the contrivance, interest, and persuasions of men getteth no further than man.

“Therefore, let none look out of the Seed for help, for all power is in it, and there the true light and judgment stand forever, and that Seed only hath God ordained to bruise the serpent’s head. Wherefore, let us be still, and trust and confide therein forever. Let none look back, faint, or consult, for if they do, they will darken their pure eye and lose their way.

“As all would stand before the Lord and his people, let not this spirit be reasoned withal; enter not into proposals and articles with it, but feed it with judgment; that is God’s decree. So may the souls that are deceived, come by the right door into the heavenly unity.

“My brethren, look forwards, and lift up your eyes, for the fields are even white unto harvest, up and down the nations. Let us all who have received the gift from God, wait in deep humility to be raised up and empowered by Him more and more, to eye and prosecute his universal service in the world; to whose appearance the kings and kingdoms of the Gentiles shall bring their glory. Which noble work, had those who are gone into the separation but laid deeply to heart, they would never have sat at home murmuring, fretting, and quarrelling against the comely and godly order and practice of their brethren;

but love, peace, and joy had filled their hearts, and not the troubler and accuser of the brethren, who hath opened an evil eye in them, and begotten them into a discontented, self-separating mind, and this image they bear, and the pure eye sees it.

“O let none tempt the Lord! Let us all dwell in that divine sense that He hath begotten in us, where our love, as a fresh and pure stream, will always flow to God and to one another. Here all his ways are pleasantness and all his paths are peace; for where He keepeth the house, who is Prince of peace, He will keep all in his heavenly peace. We are but as one family, and therefore we have but one Lord and Master. We are but as one flock, and we have but one heavenly Shepherd to hear, who goeth before us, and giveth us eternal life to follow Him. If any are offended in Him or in his, it is their own fault; if they faint and grow weary, we are truly sorry; if through unwatchfulness the enemy hath entered, begotten coldness to the brethren, and carelessness of embracing the opportunities by which the unity is renewed and increased, so that what is done by the brethren without them is looked upon, first with a slight eye and then with an evil eye, which begets distance, and this distance in time a separation, and separation continued bringeth forth enmity, and this enmity death itself, we are in our spirits truly grieved for them. However, the judgment of God must stand against them, and that spirit that leadeth them, in which they gather not to God but to themselves.

“Enter not into disputes and contests with it; it is that it seeketh and loveth; but go on in your testimony and

business for the Lord, in the Lord's peaceable power and spirit, and his blessings and presence of life shall be with you. We can say it of a truth, 'God is good to Israel and to all that are of an upright heart.'

"Your faithful friend and brother in the service of our dear Lord,

WILLIAM PENN."

We arrived at Embden, the city where Friends have been so bitterly and barbarously used—the like hath scarcely been known in any place where Truth hath broken forth in our day, they having here been banished some thirty, and some forty times and above.

As I was writing to Doctor Andrews, President of the Council of State, who is reported to have been the author of this cruelty to our friends, a burden came upon me; my writing would not serve the turn, I must go myself, and in the fear and name of the Lord plead the innocent and suffering cause of our friends with him. So away we went to his house. He was at first astonished to see what manner of men we were, but after a little time he comported himself with more kindness than we expected at his hand. I asked him if he and the Senate had not received a letter in Latin from an Englishman about two years since concerning their severity towards the people called Quakers. He told me he had. I replied I was the man, and I was constrained in conscience to visit him on their behalf, and I could not see how he, being a commonwealthsman and a Protestant, could persecute.

I pleaded the unnaturalness, the unchristianity, and imprudence of such proceedings, and pressed our reasons

earnestly, but tenderly upon him. He promised me that, if I would write to the Senate a remonstrance of the case of our friends, he would both present it and get it to be read, and make it appear that he was not so much our enemy as we looked upon him to be.

We took wagon for Bremen, where we came safely, through the Lord's goodness, on the 18th. In this city there is a work of the Lord begun, though yet obscurely. We had a travail upon our spirits that the blessed and precious Truth of our dear Lord and Master might find a place to rest its foot upon.

At the inn we had frequent opportunity to declare the way of Truth, and we must needs say we were heard with patience and sobriety. We left books amongst them all, and in the love and fear of God we took our leave of them, and begun our journey towards Herwerden, the court of the Princess, where we arrived every way well through the mercies of the Lord. We went to visit her, and found both her and the Countess ready to receive us, which they did with much love and tenderness. The house being clear of strangers, they both earnestly prest us to sup with them, which, being not well able to decline, we submitted to.

At supper the power of the Lord came upon me, and it was a true supper to us, for the hidden manna was manifested and broken amongst us, yea, a blessed meeting it proved to us. O, the reverent tenderness and lowly frame of spirit that appeared this evening both in the Princess and Countess! The Frenchwoman we found greatly improved, both in her love and understanding, yea, she was very zealous and very broken, and was always with us on

these occasions. At parting, I desired the Princess would give us such another opportunity next day, being the First day of the week, as we had the last time we were with her. She answered me, "With all my heart; but will ye not come in the morning too?"

About seven o'clock the next morning we came. About eight the meeting began, and held till eleven; several persons of the city, as well as those of her own family, being present. After the people were gone out of the chamber, it lay upon me from the Lord to speak to them two, the Princess and the Countess, with respect to their particular conditions, occasioned by these words from the Princess, "I am fully convinced; but, oh, my sins are great!"

Whilst I was speaking, the glorious power of the Lord wonderfully rose, yea, after an awful manner, and had a deep entrance upon their spirits, especially the Countess's, so that she was broken to pieces. God hath raised, and I hope fixed, his own testimony in them.

We returned to our inn, and after dinner we came back to the second meeting on that day; and, truly, the reverent, blessed, sure word of life was divided aright, and a precious sense of Truth was raised in the meeting.

Next morning about eight o'clock we returned to the court, where the Princess and Countess were ready to receive us. The morning was employed in a very serious relation, concerning the affairs, practice, and sufferings of our friends in England, with which they seemed greatly affected, when, about the eleventh hour, the rattling of a coach interrupted us. The Countess immediately stepped out to see what was the matter, and returned with a

countenance somewhat uneasy, telling us that the young princes, nephews to the Princess, and the Graef of Donau were come to visit her. Upon which I told them we should withdraw and return to our lodging; but entreated that, forasmuch as we were to depart that night with the post-wagon, we might not be disappointed of a farewell meeting with them; and the rather, for that I had a great burden upon my spirit; which they readily complied with, telling me these persons would only dine and be gone. As we went to the door, the Countess stepped before us, and opened it for us; and as I passed by she looked upon me with a weighty countenance, and fetched a deep sigh, crying out, "O, the cumber and entanglements of this vain world! they hinder all good." Upon which I replied, looking her steadfastly in the face, "O, come thou out of them then!"

After we had dined at our lodging, came the steward of the house of the Princess with the message that the Graef of Donau had a great desire to see us and to speak with us. This brought a fresh weight and exercise upon us; but, committing all to the Lord, and casting our care upon Him, we went.

Being arrived, the Graef approached us in French. At first he took no great notice of our unceremonious behavior, but proceeded to inquire of our success in our journey, and what we found answering our journey and inclinations. Then we fell to points of religion, and the nature and end of true Christianity, and what is the way that leadeth to the eternal rest. After some short debate about complete sanctification in this life, we both agreed that self-denial, mortification, and victory was the duty,

and therefore ought to be the endeavor, of every sincere Christian.

From this I fell to give him some account of my retreat from the world, and the inducements I had thereto, and the necessity of an inward work, with which he seemed much pleased. After this he fell to the hat, etc. The Lord enabled me to open the thing to him, as that it was no plant of God's planting, but a weed of degeneracy and apostasy, a carnal and earthly honor, the effect, feeder, and pleaser of pride and of a vain mind, and that no advantage redounded to mankind by it; and how could they, who ought to do all to the glory of God, use that vain and unprofitable custom, which cannot be done to the glory of God? I entreated him seriously to consider with himself the rise and end of it—whence it came, what it pleased, and what that was which was angry if it had it not.

I also told him of the sincere and serviceable respect which Truth substituteth in place thereof; and I exhorted him to simplicity and poverty of spirit; to be like that Jesus whom he professed to be his Saviour, whose outside, as well as doctrine, pleased not the Jews; and so we parted. He took his leave of the Princess, and then of us, with great civility.

After he was gone we began our farewell meeting. The thing lay weighty upon me, and that in the deep dread of the Lord; and magnified be the name of the Lord, He overshadowed us with his glory. His heavenly breaking, dissolving power richly flowed amongst us, and his ministering angel of life was in the midst of us. Let my soul never forget the divine sense that overwhelmed all.

We went to our lodging, cleared the house, exhorted the family, left books, and then took wagon for Wesel, about two hundred English miles from Herwerden. We rode three nights and days without lying down on a bed or sleeping, otherwise than in the wagon, which was only covered with an old ragged sheet. The company we had with us made twelve in number, which much straitened us. They were often, if not always, vain, even in their religious songs, which is the fashion of that country, especially by night. They call them Luther's songs, and sometimes psalms. We were forced often to reprove and testify against their hypocrisy. To be full of vain and often profane talk one hour, and sing psalms to God the next, we showed them the deceit and abomination of. We passed through several great towns by the way, Lipstadt, Ham, etc. Many discourses we had of Truth, and the religion and worship that was truly Christian, and all was very well. They bore what we said. But one thing was remarkable, that may not be omitted. I had not been six hours in the wagon before an heavy weight and unusual oppression fell upon me; yea, it weighed me almost to the grave, that I could almost say, my soul was sad even unto death. I knew not at present the ground of this exercise; it remained about twenty-four hours upon me. Then it opened in me, that it was a travail for the seed of God, that it might arise over all in them I had left behind, and that nothing might be lost but the son of perdition. Oh, the strong cries and deep agonies, many tears and sincere bowings and humblings of soul before the Lord that his holy sense, which was raised in them, might be preserved alive in them, and they forever in it;

that they might grow and spread, as heavenly plants of righteousness, to the glory of the name of the Lord.

The narrative from the 27th of the Seventh month to the 9th of the Eighth month inclusive, is inserted in the following letter to the Countess of Hornes:

*“For Anna Maria de Hornes, styled Countess of Hornes,
at Herwerden, in Germany.*

“MY DEAR FRIEND:—Oh, that thou mayst forever dwell in the sweet and tender sense of that Divine love and life which hath visited thy soul, affected and overcome thy heart. Oh, tell me, hath it not sometimes raised thy spirit above the world, and filled thee with fervent and passionate desires, yea, holy resolutions to follow Jesus, thy blessed Saviour, who hath given his most precious blood for thee, that thou shouldst not live to thyself, but to Him that hath so dearly purchased thee?

“Oh, the retired, humble, reverent frame I have beheld thee in, when this blessed life hath drawn thee into itself, and adorned and seasoned thee with its own heavenly virtue. Oh, that this holy and chaste life may be always precious with thee, and that thou mayst be forever chastely kept in the love and fellowship of it.

“My dear beloved friend, be steadfast, immovable, without wavering, and work out thy great salvation with fear and trembling, and lose not that sweet and precious sense which the Lord hath begotten in thee. It is soon lost, at least weakened, but hard to recover. Wherefore, let not the spirit of the world in any of its appearances, vain company, unnecessary discourse or words, or worldly affairs prevail upon the civility of thy nature, for they

will oppress the innocent life and bring grievous weights and burdens upon thy soul, and prolong the coming of the Lord, whom thou lookest for, and put the day of thy redemption afar off. Oh, beware of this compliance. Let me put thee in mind of that sensible resolution, so frequently and so passionately repeated by thee: ‘Il faut que je rompe. Il faut que je rompe.’ Ah, this speaketh a weight, this weight a sense, and this sense a strong conviction. Now, be assured, that till obedience be yielded to that present manifestation and conviction, the good things desired and thirsted after can never be enjoyed.

“Wherefore, my dear friend, be faithful, and watch against the workings of the spirit of this world in thyself, that the nature and image of it in all things may be crucified, that thou mayst know an entire translation, with holy Enoch, and walk with God. Jesus, the holy Light, is this power of God that killeth and maketh alive; and He is the heavenly vine, too; if thou abidest in Him thou wilt bring forth fruit; but if thou abidest not in Him, thou wilt not bring forth that fruit in which his heavenly Father only can be glorified.

“Once more let me expostulate with thee. Wouldst thou overcome the enemies of thy soul’s peace, and enjoy the delightful presence of the Lord with thee? Then keep nothing back; let nothing be withheld that He calleth for. O blessed are they that make no bargains for themselves; that have no reserves for self, neither consult with flesh and blood; but that submit their wills in all things to the Lord’s, that they may be made perfect through sufferings.

“At Dusseldorf we sent for N——, who came to us,

and three more in company. We had a blessed meeting with them, and with one of the three that came with him our souls were exceedingly affected.

“The meeting done, they went away, but N—— returned. The young man hath a zeal for God, and there is a visitation upon him; my soul desireth that it may not be ineffectual; but I have a great fear upon me. For this I know certainly from the Lord God that liveth for ever, and I have a cloud of witnesses to my brethren, that retirement and silence before God is the alone way for him to feel the heavenly gift to arise, and come forth pure and unmixed. This only can aright preach for God, pray to God, and beget people to God, and nothing else. But alas! his office in that family is quite another thing; namely, to perform set duties at fixed times; pray, preach, and sing, and that in the way of the world’s appointments. His very office is Babylonish, namely, a chaplain; for it is a popish invention.

“In the good old times, godly Abraham who was a prince, and Joshua a great general, and David a king, with many more, instructed their families in the knowledge and fear of God; but now people are too idle or too great to pray for themselves, and so they worship God by proxy. How can a minister of the Gospel be at the beck of any mortal living, or give his soul and conscience to the time and appointment of another? The thing in itself is utterly wrong, and against the very nature and worship of the new and everlasting covenant. And I have a deep sense upon my soul, that if the young man strive beyond the talent God hath given him, to answer his office and fill up his place, and wait not for the pure

and living word of God in his heart to open his mouth, but either studieth for his sermons, or speaketh his own words, he will be utterly ruined.

“Wherefore, dear friend, have a care thou art no snare to him, nor he to thee! Man’s works smother and stifle the true life of Christ. What have you now to do, but to look to Jesus, the author of the holy desires that are in you, who himself hath visited you. Tempt not the Lord, provoke not God. What should any man preach from, but Christ? And what should he preach people to, but Christ in them, the hope of glory? Consider, nothing feedeth that which is born of God, but that which cometh down from God, even the bread of God, which is the Son of God, who giveth his life for the world. Feel it, and feed on it; let none mock God, or grieve his Eternal Spirit, who is come to seal them up from the mouth of man, who hath deceived them, that Jesus the anointing may teach them and abide with them forever.

“Be steadfast and immovable; and this will draw the young man nearer to the Lord, and empty him of himself, and purge away mixtures; and then you will all come to the Divine silence. And when all flesh is silent before the Lord, then is it the Lord’s time to speak, and if you will hear, your souls shall live.

“The Lord Jesus be with thy spirit, and keep thee in this the hour of thy temptation, that thou mayst come forth as gold seven times tried; so shall thy testimony shine for the God that hath called thee, and He will reward thee with honor, glory, and eternal life. Amen.

“Thy friend, that faithfully travaileth for thy redemption,

WILLIAM PENN.

“AMSTERDAM, the 10th of the Eighth month, 1677.”

[Returning home from Germany, he says:] I went to Worminghurst, my house in Sussex, where I found my dear wife, child, and family all well: blessed be the name of the Lord God of all the families of the earth. I had that evening a sweet meeting amongst them; in which God's blessed power made us truly glad together; and I can say, truly blessed are they who cheerfully give up to serve the Lord: great shall be the increase and growth of their treasure, which shall never end.

The narrative of this journey, and of the interesting interviews he had with many persons eminent for their talents, learning, or social position, is almost the only autobiography which William Penn has left. The foregoing extracts from it furnish only a partial view of the industry and fervor with which he prosecuted his religious services. This extensive journey was accomplished in about three months, during which time, in addition to the numerous religious meetings and conferences which he held, and the distances traversed, sometimes on foot, at others in the tardy conveyances of that day, his letters and epistles occupy about sixty-five folio pages in his printed works. Yet, at a subsequent period of his life, he expressed a belief that if he had then had his time to live over again, he could with God's grace, not only serve Him, but his neighbor and himself, better than he had done, and have seven years to spare. If we are to consider the portion of his life which he has so minutely described as a specimen of the rest, it is not easy to perceive out of what portion of it these seven years could have been obtained.

IX.

SOME very severe laws had been enacted against the Roman Catholics by the British Parliament in 1582; one of which imposed a fine of twenty pounds a month for absence from the parish churches on the days appointed for Divine worship, and another passed shortly after the discovery of the gunpowder treason, in 1605, made it optional with the king whether he should exact twenty pounds a month, or all the personal and two-thirds of the real estate of the offender. The persecutors of Friends failing in their efforts to repress the rising Society by the cruel measures they had heretofore taken, had recourse to these laws, which answered the double purpose of grievously oppressing Friends and putting money into the pockets of their oppressors.

In the beginning of the year 1678, Parliament having the laws against popery under consideration, a proposal was made to insert a clause in the bill in favor of those who should take an oath and subscribe a declaration of a prescribed form. As the conditions upon which this distinguishing clause was to be rendered available, could not be complied with by Friends, it was concluded to make a representation of their case to the two houses of Parliament. One was accordingly prepared, drawn up probably by William Penn, in which the hardships they had endured by the operation of laws which were not

intended to apply to them or to persons of their characters, were briefly yet forcibly stated. Their inability to avail themselves of the proffered distinction, was shown to arise from their conscientious objection to oaths, and not from an unwillingness to subscribe the required declaration if reduced to an unexceptionable form. They therefore requested that their word might be admitted instead of the oath, with the condition annexed, that in case of violating it, they should suffer the penalties of perjury.

On the 22d of the First month, William Penn was admitted before a committee of Parliament, and in the course of his address, said :

“That which giveth me a more than ordinary right to speak at this time and in this place, is the great abuse that I have received above any other of my profession ; for of a long time I have not only been supposed a Papist, but a Seminary, a Jesuit, an emissary of Rome, and in pay from the pope, a man dedicating my endeavors to the interest and advancement of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of persons otherwise sober and discreet. Nay, some zealous for the Protestant religion have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us and to decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves to prosecute us for a sort of concealed Papists ; and the truth is, what with one thing, and what with another, we have been as the wool-sacks and common whipping-stock of the kingdom. All laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to reform, but to destroy us, and that not for what we are, but for what we are not It is

hard that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment; but it is worse that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration.

“I would not be mistaken. I am far from thinking it fit that Papists should be whipped for their consciences, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists. No, for though the hand pretended to be lifted up against them hath, I know not by what discretion, lit heavily upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they must come in our room. We must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves, for we have good-will to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand.”

He subsequently made to this committee a second speech, of which we give a part:

“I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly, too. I lost nothing by time or study; for years, reading, travel, and observation made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that Protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle maintained by those first Protestants and reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the pope and see of Rome.

“On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you

that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient Protestant church, and upon occasion shall be ready, by God's assistance, to make it appear that we are of the same belief as to the most fundamental, positive articles of her creed, too. And therefore it is we think it hard, that though we deny in common with her those doctrines of Rome so zealously protested against (from whence the name Protestants), yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines we do so deny. We choose no suffering, for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves a useful people. We are sure we are a peaceable people; yet if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish recusants, but as Protestant dissenters.

“But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the least that hath been made against us, viz., that we are enemies to government in general, and particularly disaffected to this we live under. I think it not amiss, but very seasonable, yea, my duty now to declare to you, and that I do with good conscience in the sight of Almighty God, first, that we believe government to be God's ordinance, and next, that this present government is established by the providence of God and law of the land, and that it is our Christian duty readily to obey it in all its just laws and wherein we cannot comply through tenderness of conscience, in all such cases not to revile or conspire against the government, but with Christian humility and patience tire out all mistakes about us, and wait their better information, who, we believe, do as undeservedly

as severely treat us; and I know not what greater security can be given by any people, or how any government can be easier from the subjects of it."

This application was so far successful that the committee inserted, in the bill then depending before them, a clause granting relief in the case, which passed the House of Commons; but before it had passed the House of Lords, the Parliament was suddenly prorogued, and the bill lost.

The people of England were about this time thrown into great consternation by the pretended disclosures of Titus Oates and others in regard to a Popish plot. However destitute of truth those disclosures and the rumors to which they gave birth must now appear, they were probably considered at that time, by the generality of the people, as having at least some foundation in truth.

To prevent his friends in religious profession from being drawn into the popular excitement, and from their accustomed reliance on Divine protection, William Penn wrote an epistle, directed to "the children of light in this generation."

He earnestly exhorted them to flee from the spirit and cares of the world to their watch-tower, which is the name of the Lord. A living, spiritual name, a strong tower, a peaceable habitation, where they should rest in safety while darkness and confusion prevailed in the world. He particularly cautioned them against mingling with the crowd, lest they should imbibe the spirit of the world instead of diffusing their spirit into the people. "They," said he, "must come to us, we must not go to them. Yet we cannot be insensible of their infirmities, as well as we shall not be free from some of their suffer

ings. We must make their case as our own, and travail alike in spirit for them as for ourselves. Let us stand in the counsel of our God, and He will make us preachers to them of the work of his divine power, and the virtue of that faith which comes from heaven; that they may come to know the holy law and word of the Lord in their hearts, and have their minds turned to Him and stayed upon Him, that iniquity may no more abound, nor ungodliness find a place. But that in truth, righteousness, and peace they may be established, and the land keep its sabbath to the Lord forever."

In the year 1679, as the nation was still in commotion, and great apprehensions were entertained of designs being on foot for the subversion of the Protestant religion and the introduction of Popery, he wrote and published an "ADDRESS TO PROTESTANTS," in which he exposed the vices which prevailed in church and state, and labored to excite the people to repentance and amendment of life, as the most effectual means of allaying their fears and preventing the impending evils.

Having expostulated with them on account of the evils which prevailed in civil society, he proceeds in the second part of his address to treat of those which relate to the ecclesiastical state of those kingdoms. In this part five capital evils are noted.

"First. Making opinions articles of faith; at least, giving them the reputation of faith, and making them the bond of Christian society.

"Second. Mistaking the nature of true faith, and taking that for faith which is not gospel faith.

"Third. Debasing the true value of morality under the

pretence of higher things, mistaking much of the end of Christ's coming.

Fourth. Preferring human authority above reason and truth.

Fifth. Propagating faith by force, and imposing religion by worldly compulsion.

Under the first division he censures and exposes the practice of expounding a belief on religious subjects, in terms which are neither scriptural nor fairly deducible from the Scriptures of Truth, and requiring an assent to such exposition as the condition of Christian communion. Showing that inasmuch as the Scriptures were given by Divine inspiration, and holy men gave them forth as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, the language in which they were given is to be preferred to any exposition which can be framed by men who are not endued with a like inspiration.

Under the second head it is stated that a mere assent of the understanding to the truth and authority of the history and doctrines of Scripture, is not that true and living faith which is the saint's victory over the world. But, as defined by the apostle, faith "is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." "True faith in God," says William Penn, "is entirely believing and trusting in God, confiding in his goodness, resigning up to his will, obeying his commands, and relying upon his conduct and mercies, respecting this life and that which is to come. This faith that works by love, that Divine love which God places in the heart, it draws and inclines man, and gives him power to forsake all that displeaseth God. What of the Christian dispensation is so peculiar and important

as to challenge of right the name of creed or faith? I say, then, that the belief of Jesus of Nazareth to be the promised Messiah, the Son and Christ of God, come and sent of God to restore and save mankind is the first, and was then the only requisite article of faith, without any large confessions, or an heap of principles or opinions resolved upon after curious and tedious debates by councils and synods."

Of this, the testimony of the beloved disciple is adduced as one conclusive argument. "These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." This belief, it is observed, fully and sincerely admitted, necessarily leads to an assent to the doctrines of Christ, and to the precepts which He taught. And these precepts include the moral and religious duty of man. Hence, "as Christ is the rock on which true Christians build, so none can be truly said to build on this Rock but those that keep his sayings, that do his commandments, that obey his doctrine. Wherefore that faith, of Jesus to be the Son and Christ of God, must be such a faith as does the will of the heavenly Father, and keepeth the sayings of Christ.

"Those, therefore, that would obtain this precious faith that overcomes the world, must embrace the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which this faith is begotten; and they who believe not in this grace, nor receive it in the love of it, nor give themselves up to be taught and led by it, can never be said truly to believe in Him from whom it comes, any more than the Jews may be said to believe in God, when they rejected Him that came from God, even

his beloved Son. He that denies the measure, can never own or receive the fulness. John bears record that He was full of grace and truth, and that of his fulness they had all received, and grace for grace. For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. So that it is utterly impossible for a man to believe in Christ and not to be taught and led by the grace that comes from Him and by Him."

In concluding this division, he says: "I do fervently beseech Almighty God, the giver of all saving faith, mercifully to vouchsafe, more and more, to beget a serious inquiry in us, what that faith is which we have? who is the author of it? and what fruits it hath brought forth? that so we may not profane the name of God by a vain profession of it, nor abuse ourselves unto eternal perdition. But that we may endeavor, by God's assistance, to approve ourselves such believers as sincerely fear God, love righteousness, and hate every evil way, as becomes the redeemed of God by the precious blood of his Son. Since, therefore, we are not our own, but the Lord's, who hath brought us with that great price, let us glorify Him in our bodies, in our souls, and in our spirits, which are his. Then shall we be children of Abraham indeed, heirs of the promises, partakers of that resurrection and life, that immortality and glory which God, the righteous Judge, will one day plentifully distribute to them that abide in this precious faith unto the end."

Under the third head he defines his moral man to be one that does to all men as he would have all men to do to him, and from this he argues that Christian morality is the fruit of a sound practical belief in Christ, and in the

doctrines which He taught. In regard to the end and design of Christ's coming into the world, it is laid down that He came to save his people from their sins; not merely to take away the guilt by his propitiatory sacrifice on the cross, but to redeem from the nature of sin by the power of his Spirit, and to establish an actual righteousness.

Under the fourth head is noticed the great power of the clergy, and the people's reliance upon them for the knowledge of religion and the way of life and salvation. The clergy were thus become a sort of mediators between Christ and the people. This implicit faith and blind obedience to the opinions of others, is noted as a species of popery which Protestants are particularly required to examine and avoid.

The author declares that every Christian ought to believe as the church believes, provided the church is right. But the church is defined to be a congregation or company of people agreed together in the sincere profession and obedience of the Gospel of Christ. The rule then which they jointly have for their belief, is the rule of each individual. Now the great foundation of the Protestant religion, is the Divine authority of the Scriptures, without us, and the testimony and illumination of the Holy Spirit within us. Upon this ground the first reformers made and supported their separation from the Church of Rome. Hence Protestant writers agree that neither traditions, councils, nor canons of any visible church, much less the edicts of any civil jurisdiction, but the Scriptures only, interpreted by the Holy Spirit in us, give the final determination in matters of religion, and that only in the conscience of every Christian to himself.

Under the last head our author notices, with just disapprobation, the persecutions on account of dissent from the national mode of worship which prevailed in the days of Elizabeth and her two immediate successors, and more particularly those of their own times, in which many families had been reduced to poverty—not a bed left in the house, not a cow in the field, nor any grain in the barn. Widows and orphans stripped without pity, and no regard paid to age or sex. And all this for no offence except peaceably meeting to worship God in a manner different from that prescribed by the Protestant authorities of the day.

This address, which occupies about one hundred pages in our author's folio works, closes in the following terms:

“God Almighty open our understandings and hearts, and pour out the spirit of thorough reformation upon us; for it is in the spirit and not in the words of reformation that the life and prosperity of reformation stands.”

The Parliament, which had continued about eighteen years, having been dissolved and writs issued for the election of a new one, great excitement prevailed among the people, and strenuous efforts were made by the opposing parties to secure the ascendancy. On this occasion William Penn addressed a communication to the freeholders and electors of the kingdom, entitled “England's great Interest in the Choice of this Parliament.”

He states the great importance of choosing “wise men, fearing God and hating covetousness.” “We must,” he says, “not make our public choice the recompense of private favors from our neighbors.” “They should be honest and capable; men of industry and improvement;

possessed of liberal principles, and sincerely attached to the Protestant religion; for implicit faith and blind obedience in religion will also introduce implicit faith and blind obedience in government. So that it is no more the law in the one than in the other, but the will and power of the superior that shall be the rule and bond of our subjection. This is that fatal mischief popery brings with it to civil society, and for which such societies ought to beware of it, and all those that are friends to it."

Besides communicating this address to the electors he used considerable efforts to procure the election of his friend, Algernon Sidney, whom he esteemed for his talents and character. The arbitrary measures of the court, and the unrelenting rigor with which dissenters, both in church and state, were prosecuted, appeared to demand the restraining hand of statesmen of firm and liberal minds. Men of that character were those whom he recommended to the electors of England; and such an one he thought he discerned in Algernon Sidney; his efforts, however, were not successful, and his friend did not obtain a seat in the national legislature, having been defeated by unfair means, as appears by a letter written to him immediately afterwards by William Penn, in which he says, "Thou, as thy friends, had a conscientious regard for England; and to be put aside by such base ways is really a suffering for righteousness. Thou hast embarked thyself with them that seek and love and choose the best things; and number is not weight with thee. I hope it is retrievable; for to me it looks not a fair and clear election." The efforts of William Penn to promote his election may be considered as a complete refutation of the charge, so frequently and

recklessly advanced, of his subserviency to the interests of popery and arbitrary power. For Sidney was a man of liberal, if not republican, principles, and fell, a few years afterwards, a sacrifice to the jealousy of the dominant party.

The elections having taken place, and the Parliament having at length been returned, William Penn published a book which he addressed to it under the title of "One Project for the Good of England—that is, Our Civil Union is our Civil Safety." He maintained that all English Protestants, whether Conformists or Non-conformists, agreed in this, that they owed allegiance and subjection to the civil government of England alone; whereas the Catholics, owning another temporal power as superior to the government they properly belonged to, made themselves the subjects, not of the government under which they were born, but of the government of the pope. Hence, whatever restrictions the existing Parliament might think it right to put upon the latter, it was its duty to maintain the civil interest entire, as it related to churchmen and dissenters; for, it being to the advantage of both that the pope should have no dominion in England, the church-Protestant could not injure the dissenting Protestant without weakening and destroying his own civil interest. Having discoursed largely upon this principle, he proposed as his one project a certain public declaration or test by which all Protestant dissenters might be enabled to show that they were not Catholics. This declaration, which he drew up himself, denied the pope's right to depose any sovereign, or absolve the subjects of such sovereign from their allegiance. It denied him to be

Christ's Vicar. It denied a purgatory after death, transubstantiation in the Lord's Supper, and the lawfulness and efficacy of prayers to saints and images. The declaration was to be made in all the towns and parishes on a certain day. Every abuse of this declaration was to be punished. In stating this, his project, however, he never spoke of the Catholics so as to call in question their religious rights. His only object was to show that churchmen and Protestant dissenters having the same civil interest in the government of England, the one ought not to oppress the other, and particularly for shades of difference as to their religious faith.

X.

IN the year 1675, William Penn was engaged in an arbitration between John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, two members of his own religious society, who had purchased of Lord Berkeley his half share of New Jersey in North America. Having well considered the case, he had made his award; but Fenwick refused to abide by it. This gave him great uneasiness, and produced from him the following friendly letter:

“JOHN FENWICK!—The present difference betwixt thee and Edward Byllinge fills the hearts of Friends with grief, and with a resolution to take it in two days into their consideration to make a public denial of the person that offers violence to the award made, or that will not end it without bringing it upon the public stage. God, the righteous judge, will visit him that stands off. Edward Byllinge will refer the matter to me again, if thou wilt do the like. Send me word, and, as oppress as I am with business, I will find an afternoon to-morrow or next day to determine, and so prevent the mischief that will certainly follow divulging it in Westminster-hall. Let me know by the bearer thy mind. O John! let Truth and the honor of it in this day prevail! Woe to him that causeth offences! I am an impartial man.

WILLIAM PENN.”

This letter in about ten days was followed by a second, in which he could not help rebuking Fenwick on account of his conduct. He stated, however, that the original of the dispute reflected upon both parties, and, what was worse, upon Truth, that is, upon their religious profession as Friends.

In thirteen days he wrote another letter, as follows :

“JOHN FENWICK!—I have upon serious consideration of the present difference (to end it with benefit to you both, and as much quiet as may be), thought my counsel’s opinion very reasonable ; indeed, thy own desire to have the eight parts added, was not so pleasant to the other party that it should now be shrunk from by thee as injurious ; and when thou hast once thought a proposal reasonable, and given power to another to fix it, ’t is not in thy power, nor indeed a discreet or civil thing, to alter or warp from it, and call it being forced. O John ! I am sorry that a toy, a trifle, should thus rob men of their time, quiet, and a more profitable employ. I have had a good conscience in what I have done in this affair, and if thou reposest confidence in me, and believest me to be a good and just man, as thou hast said, thou shouldst not be upon such nicety and uncertainty. Away with vain fancies, I beseech thee, and fall closely to thy business. Thy days spend on, and make the best of what thou hast. Thy grand-children may be in the other world, before the land thou hast allotted will be employed. My counsel, I will answer for it, shall do thee all right and service in the affair that becomes him, who, I told thee at first,

should draw it up as for myself. If this cannot scatter thy fears, thou art unhappy, and I am sorry.

“Thy Friend

WILLIAM PENN.”

In the year 1676, William Penn came accidentally into the situation of a manager of colonial concerns in New Jersey in North America, a situation not only important in itself, but which produced the most important results; for, by being concerned there he was by degrees led to, and fitted for, the formation of a colony of his own. Lord Berkeley, who was joint proprietor of New Jersey with Sir George Carteret, had in the preceding year sold his half share of it to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge. It was on this subject that the dispute arose between the latter, which William Penn has just been mentioned to have arbitrated, and which since that time he had by means of the most exemplary perseverance brought to an amicable issue. As soon as the adjustment took place, Fenwick in company with his wife and family, and several Quakers, embarked for America in the ship Griffith. They landed at a “pleasant rich spot on the Delaware which they called Salem.” Byllinge, however, who had been drained of his money by the purchase, and who since the sailing of Fenwick had experienced misfortune, found himself unable to meet the pecuniary demands which were brought against him. He agreed, therefore, to deliver over his new property in trust for his creditors; but in consenting to do this, he had his eye fixed upon the friendly assistance of William Penn. He, therefore, applied to the latter with the most earnest entreaty to become a joint trustee with Gawen Laurie, of

London, and Nicholas Lucas, of Hertford, two of the said creditors, to carry his intention into effect. To this, but not till after much consideration, he assented.

His new office requiring exertion, and this immediately, he was at once overwhelmed in business. The first thing he did in conjunction with the trustees, was to agree with Sir George Carteret upon a division of the province. They allotted to the latter the eastern part of it, which by this time was tolerably well peopled; and the western, in which no settlements had yet been made, they took in behalf of Byllinge to themselves. From this time the former took the name of East, and the latter that of West New Jersey, the dividing line running "straight north from Egg Harbor to the utmost branch of Delaware River."

This division having been made, they then subdivided their own portion into a hundred lots. Ten of these they gave to Fenwick as a repayment for time, trouble, and money advanced by him to Lord Berkeley, and the remaining ninety they reserved for sale, for the benefit of the creditors of Byllinge.

The next step was to form a Constitution for those who in consequence of purchase were to settle in the new land. This task, the most difficult, fell almost exclusively upon William Penn. He, therefore, drew up what he called Concessions, or terms of grant and agreement, which were to be mutually signed. The great outline of these may be comprehended in few words. The people were to meet annually to choose one honest man for each proprietary, who had signed the Concessions. They who were so chosen, were to sit in assembly. They were to make, alter, and repeal laws. They were also to choose a

governor, or commissioner, with twelve assistants, who were to execute these laws, but only during their pleasure. Every man was to be capable both of choosing and being chosen. No man was to be arrested, imprisoned, or condemned in his estate or liberty, but by twelve men of the neighborhood. No man was to be imprisoned for debt; but his estate was to satisfy his creditors as far as it would go, and then he was to be set at liberty to work again for himself and family. No man was to be interrupted or molested on account of the exercise of his religion. Such was the simple outline of the Concessions, "by an adherence to which he hoped that he had laid a foundation for those in after ages to understand their liberty both as men and Christians, and by an adherence to which they could never be brought into bondage but by their own consent."

Having made these and other arrangements, he and his colleagues gave notice of the same in a public letter which they signed, and circulated through the kingdom. Through the medium of this, they particularly invited those who were of their own religious society to become the new settlers. They cautioned these, however, against leaving their country out of any idle curiosity, or rambling disposition, or improper motive, or to the violation of the feelings of their kindred, or of their religious unity as Friends. To this caution they annexed "A Description of West New Jersey," of its climate, soil, and produce, in order that none might be deceived, or have occasion afterwards to repent of their undertaking.

In the early part of 1677 William Penn continued to be employed on behalf of Byllinge. It appears that he

had then left his house at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire and that he had established himself at Worminghurst in Sussex. Here, then, in the calm retreat of the country, he took thought for the new colony.

While at Worminghurst applications came to him, in consequence of the public letter which had been circulated, for shares in the new adventure, by which it appeared that there was a probability of disposing of a considerable portion of West New Jersey. He and his colleagues determined to appoint and send over commissioners, who should be empowered to purchase lands of the Indians, to examine the rights of such as might claim property in the new territory, to give directions for laying out the allotments there, and to administer, for the first year, the government according to the spirit of the Concessions before mentioned.

They resolved next to open proposals for the immediate sale of the lands. Among the purchasers were two companies, both consisting of members of the Society of Friends, one from London, the other from Yorkshire. These contracted for large shares, and had patents for them. The members of the Yorkshire company were principal creditors of Byllinge, and they received a tenth part of the whole land in consideration of their debts.

The commissioners, with several of the proprietors and their families and servants, to the number of two hundred and thirty, embarked in the ship *Kent*, and landed where Burlington now stands, on the Delaware, above Philadelphia.

Within two years after the sailing of the ship *Griffith*,

about eight hundred persons, mostly Friends, had been sent by the trustees to West New Jersey.

In 1680 much dissatisfaction was caused in the colony by the exaction of a duty of ten per cent., laid by the government of New York, and renewed in the year 1669, on all imports and exports at Hoarkill, now Lewistown, at the mouth of the Delaware Bay. The settlers therefore complaining to the trustees of Billynge, William Penn felt himself called upon to take a part on the occasion. He was aware that, if he succeeded in getting rid of this tax, it would be to the detriment of his friend, the Duke of York, and that he might even offend him on this account; but when he considered that his trusteeship involved in it a serious duty, and that the demands in question were unjust, he had no hesitation in pursuing the right path. Accordingly, in conjunction with the other trustees, he made a formal application to the duke on the subject. The duke referred the matter to the council. There it lay for some time. The council at length reported in favor of Billynge; for William Penn had made it appear that Billynge had purchased the government of the country with the soil; that the country therefore ought not to be subject to any imposition of duties by the government of New York; the Duke of York having granted all his right to the said country to the assigns of Lord Berkeley, and the latter to Billynge, in as ample a manner as it had been granted to the duke by the king.

XI.

THE important question to the Society of Friends, of the establishment and extent of the discipline, occasioning some diversity and even opposition of sentiments among them, William Penn wrote, in 1681, a small tract on this subject, in the way of question and answer, in which he explained the nature and extent of the authority which the church might justly exercise, and the obligation of the members to submit to that authority. This tract, entitled "A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF LIBERTY SPIRITUAL," is here inserted in part.

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:—It hath of long time rested with some pressure upon my spirit, for Zion's sake and the peace of Jerusalem, to write something of the nature of true spiritual liberty; liberty, one of the most glorious words and things in the world, but little understood, and frequently abused by many. I besecch Almighty God to preserve you, his people, in the right knowledge and use of that liberty which Jesus Christ, the Captain of our salvation, hath purchased for us and is redeeming us into, who hath led captivity captive, and is giving gifts to them that truly believe in his name.

Question. What is true spiritual liberty?

Answer. Deliverance from sin by the perfect law in the

heart, the perfect law of liberty, James ii., otherwise called, the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, that makes free from the law of sin and death; elsewhere styled, the law of Truth written in the heart, which makes free indeed, as saith Christ, If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. In this blessed liberty, it is not the will nor wisdom of man, neither the vain affections and lusts that rule or give law to the soul.

Q. What is false liberty?

A. A departing from this blessed Spirit of Truth, and a rebelling against this perfect law of liberty in the heart, and being at liberty to do our own wills.

Q. But are there not some things wherein we ought to be left to our own freedom?

A. We are not our own, for we are bought with a price; and in all things ought we to glorify God with our bodies, souls, and spirits, which are the Lord's.

Q. But must we have a motion or command from the Spirit of Truth for all things that we do?

A. That may be according to the Truth, which may not be by the immediate motion or command of the Truth; for that is according to the Truth, that is not against the mind of the Truth, either particularly or generally expressed. The Truth commands me to do all to the praise and glory of God; but not that I should wait for a motion to do every particular thing. For example: The variety of actions in trading, commerce, and husbandry, the variety of flesh, fish, and fowl for food, with more of the same nature, in all which there is a choice and liberty, but still according to the Truth, and within the holy bounds and limits of it.

Q. Then it seems there are some things left to our freedom?

A. Yes; but it must still be according to the mind of God's Truth. There are things enjoined, such as relate to our duty to God, to our superiors, to the household of faith, and to all men and creatures; these are indispensable. There are also things that may be done or left undone, which may be called indifferent; as what sort of meat I will eat to-day, whether I will eat flesh, fish, or herbs, or what hours I will eat my meals at, with many such outward things of life and converse; yet even in such cases I ought to act according to the Truth, in the temperance and wisdom of it.

Q. But doth not freedom extend further than this; for since God hath given me a manifestation of his Spirit to profit withal, and that I have the gift of God in myself, should I not be left to act according as I am free and persuaded in my own mind, in the things that relate to God, lest looking upon myself as obliged by what is revealed unto another, though it be not revealed unto me, I should be led out of my own measure, and act upon another's motion, and so offer a blind sacrifice to God?

A. This is true in a sense, that is, if thou art such an one that canst do nothing against the Truth, then mayst thou safely be left to thy freedom in the things of God, and the reason is plain; because thy freedom stands in the perfect law of liberty, in the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, and in the Truth, which is Christ Jesus, which makes thee free indeed, that is, perfectly free from all that is bad, and perfectly free to all that is holy, just, lovely, honest, comely, and of good report; but if thou

pleadest thy freedom against such things, yea, obstructest and slightest such good, wholesome, and requisite things, thy freedom is naught, dark, perverse, out of the Truth, and against the perfect law of love and liberty.

Q. But must I conform to things whether I can receive them or no? Ought I not to be left to the grace and spirit of God in my own heart?

A. To the first part of the question, Nay; to the last, Yea. But now let us consider what is the reason thou canst not receive them. Is the fault in the things themselves? Are they inconsistent with Truth, or will not the Truth own or assent unto them, or is the fault in thee? That is to say, is it thy weakness or thy carelessness; if thy weakness, it is to be borne with, and to be informed; if thy carelessness, thou oughtest to be admonished; for it is a dangerous principle, and pernicious to true religion, and which is worse, it is the root of ranterism to assert, That nothing is a duty incumbent upon thee, but what thou art persuaded is thy duty: for the seared conscience pleads this liberty against all duty; the dark conscience is here unconcerned; the dead conscience is here uncondemned, unless this distinction be allowed of, that there may be an ignorance or an insensibility from inability or incapacity, or a dark education; and an ignorance and insensibility, from carelessness, disobedience, prejudice, etc. So that though thou art not to conform to a thing, ignorantly, yet thou art seriously to consider why thou art ignorant, and what the cause of such ignorance may be; certainly it cannot be in God, nor in his gift to thee; it must then needs be in thyself, who hast not yet

received a sense for or against the matter, about which thou art in doubt.

To the second part of the question : Ought I not to be left to the grace of God in my own heart ? Answer, That is of all things most desirable, since they are well left who are left there ; for there is no fear of want of unity, where all are left with the one Spirit of Truth ; they must be of one mind, they cannot be otherwise. So that to plead this against unity, is to abuse the very plea, and to commit the greatest contradiction to that very doctrine of Scripture, viz., That all should be guided by the grace and spirit of God in themselves ; for the end of that doctrine is certainty. “ They shall all know me, saith the Lord, from the least to the greatest.” “ And I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me forever, for the good of them, and of their children after them.” “ And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul.”

Q. But are there not various measures, diversities of gifts, and several offices in the body ?

A. True ; but are not the members therefore of one mind, one will, and one judgment in common and universal matters, especially relating to the family and church of God ? and indeed there cannot be a falser reasoning than to conclude discord from diversity, contrariety from variety. Well, say the holy Scriptures of Truth, there is but one God ; the Lord our God is but one Lord ; there is but one God and Father of all things (that are good) ; and there is but one Lord, one faith, and one baptism ; and his light, life, and Spirit is at unity with itself in all ; what comes from the light, life, or Spirit in one, it is the

same in truth and unity to the rest, as if it did rise in themselves. This is seen in our assemblies every day, and will be throughout all generations in the church of God, among those that live in the lowly Truth, in which the pure sense and sound judgment stands; God is not the God of confusion, but order. Every one in his order is satisfied, hath unity and true fellowship with whatever comes from the life of God in another; for this precious life reacheth throughout the heritage of God, and is the common life that giveth the common feeling and sense to the heritage of God. Degree or measure in the same life can never contradict or obstruct that which is from the same life for the common benefit of the family of God.

Saith that beloved evangelist and apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, They that walk in the light have fellowship one with another, 1 John i. Whence it is easy to conclude, they that go out of the fellowship go out of the Light; but if they that walk in the Light have fellowship one with another, what shall we say of those that plead being left to the Light to justify their not having fellowship one with another? and, which is yet worse, who suppose people may conscientiously and justifiably dissent within themselves, and that by reason of the variety of the degrees of the Spirit and grace that are given of God unto them; as if the lesser degree may dissent from the greater, because of its not being able to comprehend it. The fallacy of all which lieth, as I said before, in not rightly distinguishing between diversity and disagreement, variety and contrariety; for this diversity hath concord, and this variety hath unity. And it is a blindness that hath too much of late happened to some, by going from the one life and spirit of our Lord

Jesus Christ, first to fall into disagreements, and then plead for it, under the notion of diversity of measures.

They that have the mind of Christ are of one mind; for Christ is not divided. They that have Christ for their head, have one counsellor and prophet, one seer and bishop; they disagree not in their judgments in things relating to Him and the good of his church; they have one and the same guide; for the one Spirit, into which they have all drank, and by it are baptized into one body, leads them all. Now to every member is a measure of the same Spirit given to profit with; and though every member is not an eye, nor an ear, nor a mouth, yet every member hath unity with the eye, with the ear, with the mouth, and in their proper and respective acts, and they one with the other. The eye sees for the mouth, the mouth speaks for the eye, and the ear hears for both; this variety hath no discord, but in this diversity of gifts and offices, each member is sensible of the other, and moves and acts by one and the same life, spirit, and guidance, which is omnipresent, proportionable to every member in its distinct office.

It must be granted, that there are helps in the church, as well as that there is a church at all; and the Holy Ghost has compared those helps, as is before mentioned, to several members and senses of man's body, as an eye, a hand, a foot, hearing, smelling, etc. All then cannot be the eye, neither can all be the hand, for then they would confound their office, and act disagreeably to the ordination of the great orderer of his church. And if I will not comply with him that God hath made an eye, because I am not that eye, or a hand, because I am not that mem-

ber myself, nor a party to the action or performance of that member, I resist the Lord, though under pretence of resisting man for the Lord's sake. And truly this is the rock that some of our own time, as well as persons of former ages, have split upon; they have not been contented with their own station in the body, they have not kept to their own gift, nor been taken up with the duty of their own place in the church. If he that is a foot would be an hand, and the hand covets to be an eye, envying others their allotted station, through height of mind, and walking loose from the holy cross, there can be no such thing as concord and fellowship in the church of Christ.

Q. But though this be true which hath been alleged for heavenly concord, yet what if I do not presently see that service in a thing which the rest of my brethren agree in; in this case, what is my duty and theirs?

A. It is thy duty to wait upon God in silence and patience, out of all fleshly consultations; and as thou abidest in the simplicity of the Truth, thou wilt receive an understanding with the rest of thy brethren, about the thing doubted. And it is their duty, whilst thou behavest thyself in meekness and humility, to bear with thee, and carry themselves tenderly and in love towards thee; but if, on the contrary, thou disturbest their godly care and practice, and growest contentious, and exaltest thy judgment against them, they have power from God to exhort, admonish, and reprove thee; and if thou perseverest therein, in his name to refuse any further fellowship with thee, till thou repentest of thy evil.

Q. What is the extent of the power of the church of Christ in case of schism or heresy?

A. The power that Christ gave to his church was this, that offenders, after the first and second admonition, not repenting, should be rejected.

All these things have come to pass for want of humility, for want of the ancient fear and keeping in the quiet habitation of the just. The Truth in you all shall answer me. And this I affirm, from the understanding I have received of God, not only that the enemy is at work to scatter the minds of Friends, by that loose plea, What hast thou to do with me? Leave me to my freedom and to the grace of God in myself, and the like; but this proposition and expression, as now understood and alleged, is a deviation from and a perversion of the ancient principle of Truth.

For this is the plain consequence of this plea, if any one, especially if they are but lately convinced, shall say, I see no evil in paying tithes to hireling priests, in that they are not claimed by Divine right, but by the civil laws of the land; I see no evil in marrying by the priest, for he is but a witness; furthermore, I see no evil in declining a public testimony in suffering times, or hiding in times of persecution, for I have Christ's and Paul's examples; I see no evil in worshipping and respecting the persons of men, for whatever others do, I intend a sincere notice that I take of those I know and have a good esteem for. Lastly, I see no evil in keeping my shop shut upon the world's holidays and massdays, as they call them, though they are rather lewdly and superstitiously than religiously kept, for I would not willingly give any offence to my neighbors; and since your testimony is

against imposition, and for leaving every one to the measure of grace which God hath given him, not only, No man hath power to reprove or judge me, but I may be as good a Friend as any of you, according to my measure. And now, here is measure set up against measure, which is confusion itself—Babel, indeed.

This is the rock which both professors and profane would long since have run us upon, namely, That a way is hereby opened to all the world's libertines, to plead the light within for their excesses; which indeed grieves the spirit of God, and was severely judged by our Friends in the beginning, and is still reprov'd by them that keep their habitation, though some are become as wandering stars through their own pride and the prevalency of the hour of temptation that hath overtaken them; whereas had they kept in the channel of love and life, in the orbit and order of the celestial power, they had shined as stars in the firmament of God forever.

The enemy, by these fair pretences, strikes at the godly care and travail which dwells upon the spirits of many faithful brethren, that all things might be preserved sweet, comely, virtuous, and of good report in the church of God. There never was greater necessity of this godly care than at this day, since we were a people, wherein the cross, by too many, is not so closely kept to as in days past, and in which there is not only a great conviction, but a young generation descended of Friends, who though they retain the form their education hath led them into, yet many of them adorn not the Gospel with that sensible, weighty, and heavenly conversation as becomes the children of the

undefiled religion, and the seed of that precious faith which works by the love that overcomes the world.

Wherefore I warn all that they have a care how they give way to the outcry of some, falsely entitled, Liberty of conscience against imposition, etc. Indeed, it is a great shame that any who have ever known the Truth of God in the inward parts, and the sweet society of brethren, especially those who were early in the work of this blessed day and heavenly dispensation, should so far depart from the fear and awe of the Lord, as to use such unsavory as well as untrue expressions. This is very far from that meek spirit of Jesus which beareth all things, suffereth all things, and endureth all things, and teacheth to keep the word of patience in the hour of tribulation; nay, but it is judging of spiritual things with a carnal and prejudiced mind, stumbling at the matter for the sake of the persons through whom it comes, not eying nor weighing the spirit the thing arises from, but the person by whom it is spoken, which darkens the eye of the understanding, and blinds, by prejudice, the mind that should discern, taste, and judge; from whence many mischiefs have sprung to the church of Christ in divers ages.

This, dear Friends, I send amongst you as a token of my true love, in the revelation of the free spirit of our God and Father, who have ever been a friend to true liberty, as in the state according to law, so in the church according to Scripture, and as it standeth in the Truth of Jesus, that makes them who love it free indeed. Let us all keep low, and remember the rock from whence we were hewn, and dwell in a tender and reverent sense of the daily mercies and providences of the Lord, looking

well to our own growth and prosperity in his heavenly way and work; then shall the desire of our hearts be more and more after Him, and the remembrance of his name; and with our love to God, will our love increase one towards another, helping and aiding one another.

And beware of that loose and irreverent spirit which has not those in high esteem among you who are faithful in the Lord's work, and who labor in his blessed word and doctrine. They that love Christ, his servants are dear to them, and they bear a tender regard to their trials, travails, spendings, and sufferings, who seek not yours, but you, that you may all be presented blameless at the coming of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; that so the Gospel ministry and testimony may be held up with holy, fervent love, and godly esteem, to the keeping under every raw and exalted mind, and whatever may slight and turn against it. Be watchful, keep to your first love and works, that so you may endure to the end and be saved. And having overcome, you may have right to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

XII.

WE have seen how William Penn had become concerned in the colonization of West Jersey. But in 1679, Sir George Carteret, proprietor of East Jersey, died, leaving his property there to be sold for the benefit of his creditors. This sale was effected in the beginning of 1682, William Penn and eleven others being the purchasers. They soon afterwards took into the concern twelve others, thus constituting a company of twenty-four proprietors, nearly all members of the Society of Friends, and of whom Robert Barclay, the celebrated Apologist, was one. Of this growing colony, Robert Barclay was appointed governor for life, but he never visited the country. He held the office of governor only about two years, having entrusted the execution of his official duties to a deputy. Thus it happened that New Jersey, both east and west, was settled, in great part, under the auspices of Friends.

It appears by one of his letters, that at an early period of his life, even while he was a student at Oxford, William Penn had a distant prospect of service in the western world; and his connection with the province of New Jersey having made him partially acquainted with the country on the opposite side of the Delaware, he formed the idea of procuring the grant of a territory there; in which he might not only furnish an asylum to Friends

and others who were persecuted on account of their religious persuasion, but might erect a government upon principles approaching much nearer the standard of evangelical purity than any which had been previously raised.

He inherited from his father a claim on the British government amounting to sixteen thousand pounds for services and for money advanced. In 1680 he asked of King Charles II., in satisfaction of this claim, a grant of land in America, north of Maryland, "bounded on the east by the Delaware River, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward to extend as far as plantable."

The grant to Lord Baltimore, which was made by Charles I., lay to the south, and was understood to extend no further north than some point on the Delaware Bay. The Duke of York obtained a part of the tract lying on the east of that bay. The application of William Penn was laid before the privy council, and by them referred to the Lords Committee of Trade and Plantations. The agent of the Duke of York was heard in relation to the claims of the latter. The rights of Lord Baltimore were also examined. The advice of Chief-Justice North and the attorney-general was taken on the subject. After these contiguous claims had been fully canvassed, a charter was granted to William Penn, dated at Westminster, the fourth of March, 1681, constituting him proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania.

William Penn informs his friend Robert Turner of the grant in the following letter :

"DEAR FRIEND :—My true love in the Lord salutes thee and dear Friends that love the Lord's precious Truth in

those parts. Thine I have, and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania; a name the king would give it in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country, but Penn being Welsh for a head, as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodlands; for I proposed, when the secretary, a Welshman, refused to have it called New Wales, Sylvania, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out and altered, he said it was past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayest communicate my grant to Friends, and expect shortly my proposals.

“It is a clear and just thing, and my God, that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first. No more now, but dear love in the Truth.

“Thy true Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

This province is described in the charter as bounded on the east by the Delaware River, from a point twelve miles north of Newcastle, to the beginning of the forty-third

degree of north latitude, in case the river should be found to extend that far north—or if it should not, then a meridian was to be run from its head waters to the said latitude; on the north by the parallel of latitude passing through the beginning of the forty-third degree; and to extend westward through five degrees of longitude, computing from this eastern boundary. The southern boundary was to be determined by a circle described at twelve miles from Newcastle, northward and westward, until it intersected the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude; and thence the line was to extend on that parallel westward to the meridian previously determined. The province was, therefore, designed to include three degrees of latitude, except a small part on the eastern side, and five degrees of longitude on the northern parallel. It was afterwards discovered, that owing to the ignorance of the people of that day in regard to the geography of the country, the boundaries assigned to Pennsylvania were irreconcilable with each other, and encroached on the chartered limits of Maryland. This involved the proprietaries in a controversy which was not terminated during their lives.

In regard to the motives of William Penn in this undertaking, it is evident that he was most influenced by religious considerations. In one of his letters he has this passage:

“And now give me leave to say, I have served the Lord, his Truth and people in my day to my ability, and not sought myself, though much spent myself; so has He made me to firmly believe that I shall not even outwardly go without my reward; I see his blessed hand therein,

that has blessed my faith and patience and long attendance with success. And because I have been somewhat exercised at times about the nature and end of government among men, it is reasonable to expect that I should endeavor to establish a just and righteous one in this province, that others may take example by it—truly this my heart desires. For nations want a precedent, and till vice and corrupt manners be impartially rebuked and punished, and till virtue and sobriety be cherished, the wrath of God will hang over nations. I do, therefore, desire the Lord's wisdom to guide me, and those that may be concerned with me, that we may do the thing that is truly wise and just."

In a letter to a particular friend, written in 1681, he says:

"For my country I eyed the Lord in obtaining it; and more was I drawn inward to look to Him, and to owe it to his hand and power than to any other way. I have so obtained it and desire to keep it, that I may not be unworthy of his love; but do that which may answer his kind providence and serve his Truth and people; that an example may be set up to the nations. There may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment."

The motives of the king in making this grant, as far as they can be inferred from the charter itself, appear to have been a desire to "favor William Penn in his laudable efforts to enlarge the British empire, to promote the trade and prosperity of the kingdom, and to reduce the savage nations by just and gentle measures, to the love of civilized life, and the Christian religion;" and a regard to the memory and merits of the deceased admiral.

Immediately after obtaining his charter, William Penn

commenced his preparations for settling the province. He prepared such an account of the country as could then be obtained, which he published together with a copy of the charter and other documents connected with it; explaining the terms upon which the lands were to be sold. The conditions of sale were, forty shillings sterling, in cash, and one shilling per annum forever, as the price of one hundred acres of unseated land. These annual payments were called quit-rents, and were allowed to be principally purchased off at the option of the grantee. A small annual sum, however, was designed to remain as a perpetual rent. These quit-rents were a part of the original purchase. The reason why they were not allowed to be totally extinguished by subsequent purchase, is said to have been, that William Penn held his title from the crown by a small annual rent, and therefore a small yearly rent from the purchasers was requisite to give validity to their titles. The yearly return of William Penn to the king appears by the charter to have been merely nominal, except under the contingency of discovering mines of silver or gold; in which case one-fifth of the ore was reserved. Yet the title of the proprietary to the soil was, in point of law, a feudal, not an allodial tenure, but divested of the military character of such tenures; he therefore did not consider himself authorized to make sales upon allodial principles.

The invitation which the proposals contained, to such of his countrymen as might incline to emigrate to Pennsylvania, was marked by his usual solicitude for their religious as well as temporal advancement. The address was closed with the following judicious admonition:

“I desire my dear country-folks to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle, but from a solid mind; having above all things, an eye to the providence of God in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such, at least to have the permission, if not the good-liking of their near relations; for that is both natural and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this will natural affections be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence between them; in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us, that his blessing may attend our honest endeavors; and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us and our posterity. Amen.”

William Penn, having now a colony of his own to settle, was obliged to give up his management of that of West New Jersey; but it was a matter of great satisfaction to him that he had brought it from infancy to a state of manhood, to a state in which it could take care of itself. He had sent to it about fourteen hundred people, of whom the adults were persons of high character. The town of Burlington had been built. Farms had risen up out of the wild waste. Roads had been formed. Religious meeting-houses had been erected in the place of tents covered with sail-cloth, under which the first settlers worshipped. A respectable magistracy had been established. The Indians in the neighborhood had been turned into friends and benefactors. Such was the situation of West New Jersey when he took his leave of it, and therefore it was with the less regret he left it to attend to his own concerns.

After publishing his "Account of the Province," he drew up next "Certain Conditions or Concessions to be Agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who may become Adventurers and Purchasers in the same Province." These conditions related to the building, forming, and settling of towns, roads, and lands, and to the treatment of the natives, and other subjects. They consisted of twenty articles. Among other things, it was stipulated in these that no purchaser of ten thousand acres or more should have above a thousand acres lying together, unless in three years he planted a family upon every thousand of the same. That in clearing the ground care should be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, especially to preserve oaks and mulberries for silk and shipping.

In behalf of the Indians it was stipulated, that, as it had been usual with planters to overreach them in various ways, whatever was sold to them in consideration of their furs should be sold in the public market-place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad: if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good; that the said native Indians might neither be abused nor provoked. That no man should by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong any Indian, but he should incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter; and if any Indian should abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, that the said planter should not be his own judge upon the said Indian, but that he should make his complaint to the governor of the province, or his deputy, or some inferior magistrate near

him, who should to the utmost of his power take care with the king of the said Indian that all reasonable satisfaction should be made to the said injured planter. And that all differences between planters and Indians should be ended by twelve men, that is, by six planters and six Indians, that so they might live friendly together, as much as in them lay, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischief.

These stipulations in favor of the poor natives will always give honor to the name of William Penn; for, rising above the prejudices and customs of his time, by which navigators and adventurers thought it right to consider the inhabitants of the lands they discovered as their lawful prey, whom they might treat, use, and take advantage of at their pleasure, he regarded them as creatures endued with reason, as men of the like feelings and passions with himself, as brethren both by nature and grace, and as persons, therefore, to whom the great duties of humanity and justice were to be extended, and who, in proportion to their ignorance, were the more entitled to his fatherly protection and care.

"The Account of Pennsylvania," which was before mentioned, and the "Conditions or Concessions," part of which have been detailed, having been made known to the public, many purchasers came forward both in London and Liverpool, and particularly in Bristol. Among those in the latter city, J. Claypole, N. Moore, P. Forde, and others formed a company, which they called, "The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania." They purchased twenty thousand acres of land in trust for the said company, and prepared for embarking in many branches

of trade. Other persons purchased also, and among these a great number of Friends from Wales.

It was necessary, before any of the purchasers embarked, that they should know something of the political constitution under which they were to live in the new land, as well as that it should be such as they approved. William Penn accordingly drew up a rough sketch, to be submitted to their opinion, of that great frame of government which he himself wished to become the future and permanent one of the province. It consisted of twenty-four articles. These were preceded by what he called his first or great fundamental, by which he gave them that liberty of conscience which the laws of their own country denied them, and in behalf of which he had both written and suffered so frequently himself. "In reverence," says he, "to God, the father of light and spirits, the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, I do, for me and mine, declare and establish for the first fundamental of the government of my province, that every person that doth and shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the free possession of his or her faith and exercise of worship towards God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God. And so long as every such person useth not this Christian liberty to licentiousness or the destruction of others, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely or contemptuously of God, Christ, the Holy Scriptures, or religion, or commit any moral evil or injury against others in their conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by the civil magistrate."

The merchants and adventurers were well pleased with them, and unanimously signed them. Nor was William Penn less satisfied as having done his duty in proposing them, if we may judge from a letter to R. Turner, which he wrote just at the time when he had resolved upon them. "I have been," says he, "these thirteen years the servant of Truth and Friends, and for my testimony's sake lost much—not only the greatness and preferment of this world, but sixteen thousand pounds of my estate, which, had I not been what I am, I had long ago obtained. But I murmur not. The Lord is good to me, and the interest his truth has given me with his people may more than repair it; for many are drawn forth to be concerned with me, and perhaps this way of satisfaction hath more the hand of God in it than a downright payment. This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1661, at Oxford, twenty years since; and as my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege (alluding to these articles), I purpose that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

In a letter, dated September 4th, '81, to Robert Turner, he says, "I did refuse a great temptation last Second day, which was £6000, and pay the Indians for six shares, and make the purchasers a company, to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from south to north, between Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, paying me $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. acknowledgment or rent; but as the Lord gave it me over all and

great opposition, and that I never had my mind so exercised to the Lord about any outward substance, I would not abuse his love, nor act unworthy of his providence, and so defile what came to me clean. No; let the Lord guide me by his wisdom, and preserve me to honor his name and serve his Truth and people, that an example and standard may be set up to the nations; there may be room there though none here."

James Claypole, who was largely interested in the colony, says, in a letter of that time, "William Penn does not intend starting for Pennsylvania till next spring; and then it is likely there will be many people ready to go from England, Scotland, and Ireland. He is offered great things: £6000 for a monopoly in trade, which he refused, and for islands and particular places, great sums of money; but he designs to do things equally between all parties, and I believe truly does aim more at justice and righteousness and spreading of Truth than at his own particular gain. I tried him about the proposals to take £100 for 5000 acres and abate the quit-rent, which he refused, intending to do equal by all."

Three commissioners were appointed by the proprietary to lay out a town and treat with the Indians. His letter of instructions to them contains these among other wise directions:

"Be impartially just and courteous to all; that is both pleasing to the Lord and wise in itself.

"Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest spies, if you can hear that anybody inveigles them not to sell, or to stand off and raise the value upon you. You cannot want those that will inform you; but to soften

them to me, and the people, let them know that you are come to sit down lovingly among them. Let my letter and conditions, with my purchasers about just dealing with them, be read in their tongue, that they may see we have their good in our eye, equal with our own interest; and, after reading my letter and the said conditions, then present their kings with what I send them, and make a friendship and league with them according to those conditions, which carefully observe and get them to comply with. Be grave; they love not to be smiled on.

“Be sure to settle the figure of the town so as that the streets hereafter may be uniform down to the water from the country bounds.

“Let every house be placed, if the person pleases, in the middle of its plat, as to the breadth-way of it, that so there may be ground on each side for gardens or orchards or fields, that it may be a green country town, which will never be burnt and always wholesome.”

The conditions and frame of government having been mutually signed, three ships full of passengers set sail for Pennsylvania—two from London and one from Bristol. It appears that the John and Sarah from London arrived first, and the Bristol Factor the next. The last vessel arrived at the place where Chester now stands. Here the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore; and here, the river being frozen up that night, they remained all the winter. The other London ship, the Amity, did not arrive at the province till the spring of the next year.

In one of these ships went Colonel William Markham. He was a relation of William Penn, and was to be his secretary when he himself should arrive. He was at

tended by several commissioners, whose object was to confer with the Indians respecting their lands, and to endeavor to make with them a league of eternal peace. With this view they were enjoined in a solemn manner to treat them with all possible candor, justice, and humanity. They were the bearers also of a letter to them, which William Penn wrote with his own hand, and of which the following is a copy :

“There is a great God and power, which hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in this world.

“This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein. But I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends ; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us, not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world ? Now I would have you well observe that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shel

ding of blood; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in anything any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

“I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the meantime I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and to the people, and receive the presents and tokens which I have sent to you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

“I am your loving Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

About this time William Penn was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He had before been acquainted with the celebrated Dr. John Wallis, who had been one of the chief instruments in founding it; but in the present year he wrote him a letter, in which he expressed to him the satisfaction he felt on hearing of the progress of the institution, as well as the high opinion he entertained of the advantages which would result to science from its labors, and in which (now going out to Pennsylvania) he of-

ferred to contribute to its usefulness to the utmost of his power.

Among the letters which he wrote this year to private persons, was one to Robert Vickris, who lived at Chew in Somersetshire, who had a son who became a Quaker, and afterwards an eminent sufferer in that society. His father adhered to his own religion, but he did not persecute his son for having left it. This made such an impression on William Penn, who had suffered so much from his father on that account, that he loved Robert as a brother, and wrote him the following short letter:

“DEAR FRIEND:—In my dear and heavenly farewell to the city of Bristol thou wert often upon my spirit, and the wishes of my soul are that the Lord would abundantly fill thee with the consolations of his Holy Spirit, and that in the days thou hast to pass on this side of the grave, thou mayest be fitted for his coming, that comes as a thief in the night, that at what watch of the night soever it be, thou mayest awake with his likeness, and enter the rest that is eternal. So the Lord more and more gather thee out of every visible, fading thing, and prepare thee for himself. Dear friend, be faithful to that appearance of God and manifestation of the love of the Lord to thy soul that visits thee. The Lord is near thee, with thee, and in thee, to enlighten, melt, and refresh thee. 'Tis his presence, not seen, or felt of the wicked, that gathers and revives the soul that seeks Him. So the Lord be with thee, and remember into thy bosom the sincere love thou hast shown to thy son and his friends. I say no more, but in the Lord farewell.

“Thy truly affectionate Friend, WILLIAM PENN.”

About this time his mother, to whom he was most affectionately attached, died. He was so affected by her death that he was ill for some days, as appears by a letter which has come down to us, which he wrote at this time. Its conciseness and tone bespeak a chastened spirit occupied with its own grief.

“DEAR FRIEND:—Both thy letters came in a few days one of the other. My sickness upon my mother’s death, who was last Seventh day interred, permitted me not to answer thee so soon as desired; but on a serious weighing of thy inclinations, and perceiving thy uneasiness under my constrained silence, it is most clear to me to counsel thee to sink down into the seasoning, settling gift of God, and to wait to distinguish between thy own desires and the Lord’s requirings ”

Having paid the last earthly offices of respect to his mother, he began to turn his mind to his American concerns. The first thing he did was to publish the frame of government or Constitution of Pennsylvania before mentioned. To this he added a noble preface, containing his thoughts upon the origin, nature, object, and modes of government, most of which is appended :

“When the great and wise God had made the world, of all his creatures it pleased Him to choose man his deputy to rule it, and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, He did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honor and his happiness; and, whilst he stood here, all went well, there was no need of coercive or

compulsive means. The precept of divine love and truth in his bosom was the guide and keeper of his innocency. But lust, prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it, and the law, that had before no power over him, took place upon him and his disobedient posterity, that such as would not live conformable to the holy law within, should fall under the reproof and correction of the just law without in a judicial administration.

“This the apostle teaches in divers of his epistles. ‘Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. The powers that be are ordained of God. Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil. He is the minister of God to thee for good. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience’ sake.’

“This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends, first, to terrify evil-doers; secondly, to cherish those that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be, so that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end; for, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil, and is, as such, though a lower, yet an emanation of the same divine power that is both author and object of pure religion. The difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operation; but that is only to evil-doers, government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness, and charity as a more private society. They weakly err who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it. Daily experience tells us

that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft and daily necessary, make up much the greatest part of government, and which must have followed the peopling of the world had Adam never fallen, and will continue among men on earth under the highest attainments they may arrive at by the coming of the blessed second Adam, the Lord from heaven. Thus much of government in general as to its rise and end.

“For particular frames and models it will become me to say little. I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike. I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many, and are the three common ideas of government when men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three. Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion.

“But, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders that in good hands would not do well enough; and story tells us that the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great and good. Wherefore, governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn.

“That which makes a good constitution must keep it; namely, men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy than to their parents for their private patrimonies.

“We have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and laws of this Government to the great end of government, to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.

“To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution and partly to the magistracy. Where either of these fail government will be subject to convulsions, but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted; then where both meet, the government is like to endure; which I humbly pray and hope God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen.”

Of the laws agreed upon and published with the frame of government, two or three partake of a religious character:

“That all persons living in the province who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in

matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever.

“That, according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and the ease of the creation, every First-day of the week, called the Lord’s-day, people shall abstain from their common daily labor, that they may better dispose themselves to worship God according to their understandings.

“That as a careless and corrupt administration of justice draws the wrath of God upon magistrates, so the wildness and looseness of the people provoke the indignation of God against the country; therefore, that all such offences against God as swearing, cursing, lying, profane talking, drunkenness, drinking of healths, obscene words, and several other scandalous acts particularly named; treasons, misprisions, duels, murders, felony, sedition, maims, forcible entries, and other violences to the persons and estates of the inhabitants of the province; all prizes, stage-plays, cards, dice, may-games, gamesters, masques, revels, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, bear-baitings, and the like, which excite the people to rudeness, cruelty, and irreligion, shall be respectively discouraged and severely punished according to the appointment of the Governor and freemen in provincial council and general assembly.” This system was signed by the Governor and freemen in the Third month, 1682.

The grant of territory which had been made to James, Duke of York, having given him some claim, though at best a very doubtful one, to the tract included within the limits of Pennsylvania, William Penn, previous to entering himself upon his new possession, obtained from the

duke a full release of all his claims upon the province. This deed was dated the 20th of August, 1682. He also obtained in the same year, by two separate deeds from the duke, a grant of the tract on the Delaware river and bay, commonly termed the three lower counties, now the State of Delaware. This grant was obtained to secure the free use of the river, and to prevent the trouble which might probably arise from the access to the province being in the possession of another.

XIII.

WILLIAM PENN having completed his preparations for a voyage to America, went, in the Sixth month of this year, 1682, on board the ship *Welcome*, of three hundred tons, Robert Greenaway commander; and on the 30th of the month addressed a valedictory epistle to his friends in England. He also wrote the following letter to Stephen Crisp, a valuable minister of the Gospel in his own religious society.

“DEAR STEPHEN CRISP:—My dear and lasting love in the Lord’s everlasting Truth reaches to thee, with whom is my fellowship in the Gospel of peace that is more dear and precious to my soul than all the treasures and pleasures of this world; for when a few years are passed we shall all go the way whence we shall never return; and that we may unweariedly serve the Lord in our day and place, and in the end enjoy a portion with the blessed that are at rest, is the breathing of my soul!

“Stephen! we know one another and I need not say much to thee; but this I will say, thy parting dwells with me, or rather, thy love at my parting. How innocent, how tender, how like the little child that has no guile! The Lord will bless that ground (Pennsylvania). I have also a letter from thee which comforted me; for many are my trials, yet not more than my supplies from my heavenly

Father, whose glory I seek, and the renown of his blessed name. And truly, Stephen, there is work enough, and here is room to work in. Surely God will come in for a share in this planting-work, and that heaven shall leaven the lump in time. I do not believe the Lord's providence had run this way towards me, but that he has an heavenly end and service in it; so with Him I leave all, and myself, and thee, and his dear people, and blessed name on earth.

"God Almighty, immortal and eternal, be with us, that in the body and out of the body we may be his forever!

"I am, in the ancient dear fellowship,

"Thy faithful friend and brother,

WILLIAM PENN."

As this voyage and residence in America were likely to keep him separated from his family during a considerable time, he left behind him a letter addressed to his wife and children, valuable for its wisdom as well as beautiful for its simplicity and patriarchal spirit.

"MY DEAR WIFE AND CHILDREN:—My love, which neither sea nor land nor death itself can extinguish or lessen toward you, most endearly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you forever; and may the God of my life watch over you and bless you, and do you good in this world and forever! Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to the one a husband and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

"My dear wife, remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most beloved as

well as most worthy of all my earthly comforts; and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world; take my counsel into thy bosom and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

“First: Let the fear of the Lord and a zeal and love to his glory dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed; else God will be offended, and He will repent himself of the good He intends thee and thine.

“Secondly: Be diligent in meetings for worship and business; stir up thyself and others herein; it is thy duty and place; and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord who has given us much time for ourselves. And, my dearest, to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy time and be regular; it is easy and sweet; thy retirement will afford thee to do it; as in the morning to view the business of the house and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order; that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain—at least as near as may be; and grieve not thyself with careless servants; they will disorder thee; rather pay them and let them go if they will not be better

by admonitions; this is best to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul and offend the Lord.

“Thirdly: Cast up thy income and see what it daily amounts to; by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass; and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly till my debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother’s example when thy father’s public-spiritedness had worsted his estate, which is my case. I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world—a nobility natural to thee. I write not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be vigilant herein, knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father’s, ‘I desire not riches, but to owe nothing;’ and truly that is wealth; and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee be humble, for thou art so; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition; but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arm’s end; for it is giving away our power, aye, and self too, into the possession of another; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning may prove a yoke and burden too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore, keep dominion over thyself; and let thy children, good meetings, and Friends be the pleasure of thy life.

“Fourthly: And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children; abundantly beloved of me as the Lord’s blessings, and the sweet pledges of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things endeavor

to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behavior; yet I love sweetness mixed with gravity and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behavior, an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

“Fifthly: Next breed them up in a love one of another. Tell them it is the charge I left behind me, and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them; also what his portion is who hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear one another with. Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved; but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind; but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialing, navigation; but agriculture is especially in my eye—let my children be husbandmen and housewives; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example: like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the

princes of Germany and the nobles of that empire, that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them, than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing; but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labor in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need no wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred. And of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there; a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion, of an hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavor to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth, and grace in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will grow up with them. Teach a child, says the wise man, the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it. Next, obedience to thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience' sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and

in age gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just, where no death shall separate us forever!

“And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and follow it, and you shall be blessed here and happy hereafter.

“In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel in the second of Jeremiah; and how did God bless Josiah because he feared Him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. O my dear children, remember and fear and serve Him who made you and gave you to me and your dear mother; that you may live to Him and glorify Him in your generations!

“To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find Him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants, or stones, but that He has kept you, and given you his grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world; for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

“Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts which shows you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss, and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ that He has given you for your salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world, and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying

nature; it seasons those who love it and take heed to it, and never leaves such till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. O that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes, and pleasures of the world; redeeming the time because the days are evil!—You are now beginning to live—what would some give for your time? Oh, I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth! Therefore love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honor to be members of that Society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience of which your father's soul blesseth the Lord forever.

“Next, be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honor to you; for she hath been excelled by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding; qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore, honor and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; nay, love her, too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors; and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the painfulest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse, too. I charge you, before the Lord, honor and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

“Next, betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition, and marry, choose with the knowledge and consent of your mother, if living, or of guardians or those that have charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you.

“And, being married, be tender, affectionate, patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and He will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

“Let your industry and parsimony go no further than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord gives you any. I charge you help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our Society and others; for we are all his creatures; remembering that ‘he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.’

“Know well your incomings, and your outgoings may be better regulated. Love not money nor the world; use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord.

“Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand of help to

them; it may be your case; and as you mete to others God will mete to you again.

“Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, and then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

“Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your heavenly Father.

“In making friends consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

“Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it; for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniences.

“Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise; their praise is costly, designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lie to flatter, and flatter to cheat; and, which is worse, if you believe them you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish, and prefer. Remember David, who asking the Lord, ‘Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?’ answers, ‘He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in whose eyes the vile person is contemned, but honoreth them that fear the Lord.’

“Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also

plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornaments, remembering life is more than food, and the body than raiment. Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice, and luxury. Read my 'No Cross, no Crown.' There is instruction. Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety; and shun all wicked men as you hope for the blessing of God and the comfort of your father's living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any, no, not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

"Be no busybodies; meddle not with other folks' matters, but when in conscience and duty prest; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

"In your families remember Abraham, Moses, and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for your examples.

"Let the fear and service of the living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety, and moderation in all things as becometh God's chosen people; and as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that He may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

"And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania and my parts of East-Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and

tender, fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live, therefore, the lives yourselves you would have the people live, and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you; therefore, do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers, cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in Him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

“Oh! the Lord is a strong God, and He can do whatsoever He pleases; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules and overrules in the kingdoms of men, and He builds up and pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, he that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with Him.

“If you thus behave yourselves, and so become a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hand for the settlement of some of those desolate parts of the world, which my soul desires above all worldly honors and riches, both for you that go and you that stay; you that govern and you that are governed; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

“Finally, my children, love one another with a true

endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's law, that so they may not, like the forgetting unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you and yours after you may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

“So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and the other and blessed life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you, and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power with the blessed spirits of the just, that celestial family, praising and admiring Him, the God and Father of it, forever. For there is no God like unto Him; the God of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of the prophets, the apostles, and martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live forever.

“So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children!

“Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains forever,

WILLIAM PENN.

“WORMINGHURST, 4th of Sixth month, 1682.”

The Welcome proceeded to sea about the beginning of the Seventh month (September). The number of passengers, who were chiefly Friends, was about one hundred. But they had not been long on the ocean before the small-

pox broke out among them, and carried off thirty of their number. The voyage in other respects was prosperous, and in about six weeks they came in sight of the American shore. They soon afterwards entered the Delaware, and on the 24th of the Eighth month landed at Newcastle.

As he sailed up the river, the inhabitants, consisting of English, Dutch, and Swedes, met the proprietary and manifested their satisfaction with his arrival. The town of Newcastle, where he first landed, was originally commenced, and at the time of his landing principally occupied, by the Dutch. It was first called Fort Cassimir, subsequently Delaware Town, and finally designated by the name which it now bears. There was a court-house in the town, to which, on the day after his arrival, he invited the principal inhabitants of the place and its vicinity. Possession of the territory was there taken in due form; after which he addressed the magistrates and people, explaining the design of his coming among them, his views of the nature and end of government; with an assurance of the free enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, and an admonition to live in sobriety and peace. He then renewed the commissions of the magistrates.

Having arranged his concerns at Newcastle, he soon afterwards proceeded to Uplands. The name of this place was then changed to Chester, in compliment to one of the companions of his voyage who emigrated from Chester, in England. An assembly was convened at that place, consisting of an equal number from the province and territories. It was not composed of members elected for the purpose, but of such freemen as chose to attend. The session lasted but three days, yet some legislation of

great importance to the colonists was effected. 1. An act was passed for the union of the province and territories. 2. An act to naturalize the Dutch, Swedes, and other foreigners then residing within the province and territories. 3. The laws agreed upon in England, were, with some alterations and additions, accepted and confirmed.

These laws are understood to have been chiefly the work of William Penn, and manifest a particular anxiety to preserve the rights of conscience unimpaired, and to maintain a sound morality in this growing community.

The preamble was in the following words: "Whereas the glory of God Almighty, and the good of mankind, is the reason and end of government; and, therefore, government itself is a valuable ordinance of God; and forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary, and governor, and freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious, and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due, from tyranny and oppression on the one side, and insolence and licentiousness on the other; so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid, for the present and future happiness of both the governor and the people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity; be it enacted," etc.

The first of these laws was to the following import: "Almighty God being the Lord of conscience, Father of lights, and the author as well as object of all Divine knowledge, faith and worship; who only can enlighten

the mind and convince the understanding of people in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind, be it enacted, that no person now or hereafter residing in this province, who shall confess one Almighty God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and profess himself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced on account of his conscientious persuasion or practice; nor shall he be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry contrary to his mind, but shall freely enjoy his liberty in that respect, without interruption or reflection. And if any person shall abuse or deride another for his different persuasion or practice in religion, such shall be looked upon as disturbers of the peace and be punished accordingly."

The officers of the government were required to be such as professed faith in Jesus Christ, and had not been convicted of unsober or dishonest conversation. Scandalous vices of every description were prohibited, and provision made for training children to business, to prevent beggary and pauperism.

In the criminal code then established, a provision was introduced which had previously been but little regarded in the administration of jurisprudence. The reformation of the criminals, as well as deterring others from the commission of crimes, was viewed as an important object of attention. Hence the prisons were required to be considered as workshops, where the offenders might be industriously, soberly, and morally employed. It exempted from the infliction of death about two hundred offences which were capitally punished by the English

law, reserving the penalty of death for wilful murder only.

A clause was soon after added, through the influence, it is believed, of the Proprietary, which abolished the right of primogeniture according to the English law, by giving the property of intestates to the wife and children, a measure in harmony with his views of justice and the well-being of individuals and of society, and which would also give stability to the republican government he desired to establish by promoting equality of social position and distribution of wealth. An act was also passed at the first meeting of the Provincial Council, providing for three peacemakers, as arbitrators at every county court, to settle differences between individuals.

Judge Sharswood, of Philadelphia, an eminent legal authority, in an address before the Historical Society of that city, says: "Our founder had well studied the science of government and laws, though he was no lawyer by profession. He drew his first principles on the subject from the most authoritative source. He held that 'the glory of God Almighty and the good of mankind is the reason and end of government, and therefore government itself is a venerable ordinance of God.'

"Another of William Penn's principles was, that 'any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion.' He knew no more concise and perfect description of civil and political liberty than was contained in these few words. He composed and published his frame to advance, as he says, 'the great end of government, viz.,

to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.'

"By this frame the General Assembly was the first year to consist of all the freemen of the province. Accordingly, we may say that the Assembly which convened at Upland on the 7th, and adjourned on the 10th, of December, 1682, was the meeting of a pure democracy. It would have been a solemn and touching sight to one who could have foreseen all its consequences in the distant future—that first meeting. They came together, the pioneers of the wilderness—stern, grave, and earnest men—prepared for toil, privation and danger—men of moral, rather than mere physical courage—their hands hardened by the axe's unwearied stroke in felling the primeval forest and raising their rude log cabins—and there, within the hearing of the yells of wandering savages of untried disposition, they adopted, in the short space of three days, sixty-one laws, many of them, indeed all of them, the foundation-stones upon which has been since erected the superstructure of the civil and criminal jurisprudence of this broad Commonwealth. It was a fitting introduction to that simple but noble code,—the law about liberty of conscience,—‘that all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for

their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry.'

"Looking at the scope and spirit of our early laws and institutions, the celebrated Montesquieu pronounced William Penn a true Lycurgus; that though the object of the one was to form a peaceful, and of the other a warlike, State, they resembled each other in the ascendancy they were able to acquire over the opinions, prejudices, and passions of the people. Penn infused his own spirit into the laws, and certainly the whole history of our jurisprudence shows how largely we have drawn from these original fountains. The character of the code comports with its introduction. Moderate in its penal enactments, just and equal in its civil provisions, it is an instance unparalleled in the world's history of the foundations of a great State laid in peace, justice, equality. It is necessary to refer merely to the abolition of capital punishment in all cases except for wilful murder; that all prisons shall be workhouses; to the acts for the recording of deeds and registry of wills; for the regulation of process and pleading; for making lands chattels for the payment of debts, and that the laws should not only be printed for general information, but taught in the schools."

Before the assembly broke up, which they did on the 7th of Tenth month, they returned their grateful acknowledgments to the Governor. The Swedes deputed an individual to assure him that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they possessed.

It appears that previous to the meeting of this assem-

bly, William Penn paid a visit, in part at least of a religious character, to New York, Long Island, and East Jersey, of which nothing but a brief notice remains. Shortly after its dissolution he repaired to Maryland, where he was kindly received by Lord Baltimore and the principal inhabitants of that colony. One object of this visit was to settle with Lord Baltimore the boundaries of their respective colonies; but, two days having been spent in the discussion of the subject, with very little prospect of a speedy adjustment of their adverse claims, and the winter coming on, they agreed to meet in the ensuing spring. When he was about returning to Pennsylvania, Lord Baltimore accompanied him several miles on his way. From this circumstance we may infer that the conference between them was amicably conducted, and that they parted in a friendly manner. After taking leave of Lord Baltimore, he proceeded to a meeting of Friends, which was held at the house of Thomas Hooker, and from thence to an appointed one at Choptank, on the eastern side of the Chesapeake Bay, which was attended by persons of divers ranks and qualities. Of this visit to Maryland, and the previous one to New York, he briefly states, in a letter to one of his friends, that he had had good and eminent service for the Lord. Thus it appears, that amidst the cares of his new political station, he was sedulously engaged in the exercise of his ministerial gift.

In a letter dated at Chester, on the 29th of Tenth month of this year, he says: "I bless the Lord I am very well and much satisfied with my place and portion, yet busy enough, having much to do to please all, and yet to have an eye to those who are not here to please them-

selves. As to outward things we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at, an innumerable quantity of wild-fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with; and service enough for God, for the fields are white for harvest. Oh, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, heresies, and perplexities of woeful Europe. . . .

“Blessed be the Lord, of twenty-three ships none miscarried, only two or three had the small-pox, else healthy and quick passages, generally such as had not been known; some but twenty-eight days, and few longer than six weeks. Blessed be God for it, who is good to us, and follows with his abundant kindness. My soul fervently breathes, that in his heavenly guiding wisdom we may be kept; that we may serve Him in our day and lay down our heads in peace.”

We have abundant evidence that the toils and cares which William Penn encountered in the settlement of Pennsylvania, and the establishment of the government, were not submitted to for the gratification of a worldly ambition, or the promotion of his personal interests; but that the advancement of the cause of universal righteousness, and the increase of happiness to the human family, were the primary and principal objects of these arduous engagements. The following letter, addressed to a person who had cast some unkind reflections upon him, affords a forcible exposition of his motives and labors:

“MY OLD FRIEND ———:—I could speak largely of God's

dealings with me in getting this thing. What an inward exercise of faith and patience it cost me in passing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and cost, through the envy of many, both professors, false friends, and profane. My God hath given it me in the face of the world, and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings, and that is seen here, whatever some despisers may say or think. The place God hath given me, and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. It is more than a worldly title or patent that hath clothed me in this place. Keep thy place: I am in mine, and have served the God of the whole earth since I have been in it. Nor am I sitting down in a greatness that I have denied. I am day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not six-pence enriched by this greatness. Costs in getting, settling, transportation, and maintenance, now in a public manner at my own charge duly considered; to say nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am at from a considerable estate, and which is more, my dear wife and poor children.

“Well, the Lord is a God of righteous judgment. Had I sought greatness I had stayed at home, where the difference between what I am here and was offered, and could have been there in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are. No; I came for the Lord’s sake, and therefore have I stood to this day, well and diligent, and successful, blessed be his power. Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails, watchings, spendings, and my servants every way; freely (not like a selfish man), I have many witnesses. To conclude, it is now in Friends’ hands. Through my

travail, faith, and patience it came. If Friends here keep to God, and in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their footstool. If not, their heirs, and my heirs too, will lose all, and desolation will follow; but, blessed be the Lord, we are well and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender heavenly Spirit, and our faith is for ourselves and one another that the Lord will be with us a King and a Counsellor forever.

“Thy ancient, though grieved friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

“CHESTER, 5th of the Twelfth month, 1682.”

William Penn, tradition says, went from Chester to the site of Philadelphia, with some of his friends, in a barge, and landed at the mouth of Dock Creek, the present Dock Street. Some streets, it is supposed, had been laid out in accordance with his plan, part of which was that the whole river-front for a considerable distance back should be forever kept open for public use. He also designed the plot of the city to embrace 10,000 acres. The first of these provisions has been disregarded, and the last was changed in condescension to the judgment of his surveyor, and limited to 1200 acres. The far-seeing wisdom of William Penn, with regard to both of them, has appeared clearly in the light of the succeeding years.

In the autumn of this year (but whether previously to his visit to Maryland or not, is a little doubtful), was held at Shackamaxon the celebrated treaty with the Indians. It is a subject of regret, that so little information which can be entirely relied upon, in relation to this treaty, now

remains. There are, however, relations in Indian speeches, and traditions in families descended from those who were present on the occasion, from which we may learn something concerning it. It appears that, though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannoe, the treaty was made a little higher up, at Shackamaxon, now Kensington, a part of Philadelphia. There was at Shackamaxon, near the river-side, a very large elm-tree, and under its widespread branches William Penn and his friends and the Indians assembled. He addressed them through an interpreter, saying that the Great Spirit who made him and them, who ruled the heaven and the earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons against their fellow-creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love. After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and by means of the same interpreter conveyed to them the words of the compact then made for their eternal union. Among other things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits even in the territory they had alienated, for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any

disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English and half Indians. He then made them many presents from the merchandise which had been spread before them. Having done this, he laid the roll of parchment on the ground, observing again, that the ground should be common to both people. He then added that he would not compare the friendship between him and them to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts. He then took up the parchment and presented it to the sachems, and desired them to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it.

That William Penn must have done and said a great deal more on this interesting occasion than has now been represented, there can be no doubt. It is also to be regretted that the speeches of the Indians on this memorable day have not come down to us. It is only known that they solemnly pledged themselves, according to their country manner, to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure. It was at this time that William Penn first entered personally into that friendship with them which ever afterwards continued between them, and which, for the space of more than seventy years, was never interrupted, or so long as the Friends retained power in the government. His conduct to these people was so engaging, his

justice so conspicuous, and the counsels which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became very much endeared to them. The Iroquois called him Onas, and the Delawares Miquon, both words signifying a quill or pen; and wherever any remnants of the Indian tribes who knew him then are found, his name is held in honor; and even a membership in the religious Society with whom he is associated in their memory, is a passport to their confidence.

In the early part of 1683, William Penn met the Provincial Council, and afterwards the Assembly, at Philadelphia.

The three lower counties, now the State of Delaware, having been united, by their request, to the Province of Pennsylvania, the council was composed of three members from each of those counties and from the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester; and the Assembly had nine members from each. The charter being under consideration, the Proprietary told them "they might amend, alter, or add for the public good, and that he was ready to settle such foundations as might be for their happiness and the good of their posterity."

A new charter was accordingly agreed to, embracing the same principles as the first, but altering a few details. The Assembly voted the Proprietary an impost on certain imports and exports, which he generously declined.

After this it appears that he was occupied in making purchases of land from the Indians. By the terms of one of them it was to extend "as far back as a man could walk in three days." William Penn and some of his friends and a number of Indian chiefs started to measure

it, and walked leisurely up the Delaware, from the mouth of the Neshaminy, for a day and a half, and then stopped, William Penn concluding that that was enough for present settlement, leaving the rest to be measured when it might be needed. The remainder was not marked out till 1733, when the then Governor of Pennsylvania—an unworthy successor, as surveyor, of the generous Proprietary and simple-hearted Indians—employed a noted fast walker, who made eighty-six miles in the remaining day and a half. This disgraceful act made the first breach in the confidence of the Indians.

XIV.

WITHIN little more than a year after the arrangements were made for settling the province, between twenty and thirty vessels arrived, bringing more than two thousand individuals. A large part of these were members of the religious Society of Friends. They had left their own country to avoid the vexations and vices of Europe, that they might lead quiet and peaceable lives and worship God according to their conscientious persuasion. Though these emigrants were not generally rich, yet many of them possessed considerable estates, and were persons of good education. They were mostly sober, industrious people, of reputable characters, well qualified to advance the interests of this rising colony. As they arrived in succession, they were kindly received and assisted by those who were there before them; and scattering along the Delaware, as choice or convenience suggested, the country was thinly peopled from the falls at Trenton to Chester. The inhabitants, including the Dutch and Swedes, who had been long resident in the country, are computed at the time to which we have arrived to be about four thousand, so that William Penn may be said to have raised up a colony at once in his new domains.

In the course of 1682 and the two following years great numbers of emigrants arrived from England, Ireland, Wales, Holland, and Germany, who extended their settle-

ments into the interior of the country. The Welsh settled on both sides of the Schuylkill, and have left, in the names of the townships Merion, Haverford, Radnor, Gwynedd, etc., a lasting memorial of their old homes. Among the emigrants from Germany were a number of Friends, formerly inhabitants of Crisheim in the Palatinate, among whom William Penn had travelled in the service of the Gospel during the year 1677. They formed the flourishing settlement of Germantown, and by their opportune removal to the asylum which was provided for them, escaped the calamity which a few years afterward overtook their native land, when Louis XIV., in the wantonness of power, desolated the Palatinate with fire and sword.

William Penn having dispatched the public business of the colony, as far as his presence was necessary, and having superintended the works in his new city, went on a journey of observation into the province. On his return to Pennsbury, his residence on the Delaware above Philadelphia, he wrote a letter to "The Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania," in which he communicated the result of his discoveries, from which the following extracts are taken :

"MY KIND FRIENDS:—The kindness of yours by the ship Thomas and Ann doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation and in the prosperous beginning of this province.

"In the first place I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a Jesuit, too. One might have reason-

ably hoped that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy ; and, indeed, absence being a kind of death ought alike to secure the name of the absent as of the dead, because they are equally unable as such to defend themselves. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England, which perhaps at this time are no more alive than I am dead.

“ But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came—an universal, kind welcome, every sort in their way. For here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments. Nor were the natives wanting in this, for their kings, queens, and great men both visited and presented me, to whom I made suitable returns.”

After giving full and interesting accounts of the climate, character of the land, and productions, he speaks of the Indians: “ For their persons they are generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportion. They tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Their language is lofty, yet narrow ; but, like the Hebrew in signification, full. Like shorthand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer—imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion ; and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs.

“ If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging

at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an Itah, which is as much as to say, 'Good be to you!' and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright. It may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased; else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

"But in liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live; they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land. The pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighboring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom, they should give them.

"They care for little, because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. We sweat and toil to live. Their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread everywhere. They eat twice a day, morning and evening. Their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their

skins and furs. If they are treated with liquor, they are restless till they have enough to sleep. That is their cry, 'some more and I will go to sleep;' but when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world. In sickness impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They are choice of the graves of their dead; for, lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

"These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it; yet they believe a God and immortality without the help of metaphysics; for they say there is a great King, who made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first-fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labor of body that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which

all come that will. I was at one myself. Their entertainment was a great seat by a spring under some shady trees, and twenty bucks with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes, and after that they fall to dance. But they who go must carry a small present in their money; it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold; the white silver; they call it wampum.

“I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus; the king sits in the middle of a half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then he took me by the hand, and told me that he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and that now it was not he but the king who spoke, because what he should say was the king's mind. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile, the old grave, the young reverent, in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, who outwits them

in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love as long as the sun gave light; which done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the Sachamakers or Kings; first to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly to live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river; but that no governor had come himself to live and stay there before; and having now such an one, who had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong; at every sentence of which they shouted, and said Amen in their way.

“We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good then might not a good people graft where there is so distinct a knowledge left of good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts to outlive the knowledge of the natives by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

“For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race, I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons; first, they were to go to a land not planted nor known, which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe: and He who intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of the like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke’s Place or Berry Street, in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in rites; they reckon by moons; they offer their first-fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year; with many other things that do not now occur.

“Philadelphia, the expectation of those who are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those here who are any way interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river; but the Schuylkill, being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course north-east towards the fountain of Susquahanna (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own), it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. This I will say for the good providence of God, of all the places I have seen in the world I remember not one better seated; so that it seems

to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks and springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land, and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good.

“I bless God I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I got in it; for I find that particular content which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business; and, as such, I may say it is a troublesome work. But the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men’s duty to plough, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap, so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully as well as carefully embrace and follow the guidance of it.”

The conference with Lord Baltimore was renewed this year, as agreed upon in the preceding, relative to the boundaries of the territories. But William Penn, finding that the difference was not likely to be soon adjusted by the claimants, referred the matter to the Lords’ Committee of Plantations in England; subsequently the Lord Baltimore commissioned Colonel George Talbot to take forcible possession.

This question continued for many years to be a subject of controversy, and was not finally adjusted till long after William Penn’s death. Lord Baltimore’s claim included all the lands on the western side of the Delaware from Philadelphia to the capes. William Penn resisted it with firmness, but with courtesy, moderation, and candor.

The mind of William Penn had been, as may be naturally supposed, harassed by his attention to his various American concerns, and particularly by the dispute between him and the Lord Baltimore. But that which grieved him most was the receipt of accounts from England at the persecutions under which persons who dissented from the Established Church, but particularly those of the Society to which he himself belonged, were then subjected to on account of their religion. Meetings in places of worship not acknowledged by the law continued to be deemed riots, so that many convicted on this account were then in a state of suffering, nearly 1500 members of his Society being imprisoned in England and Wales.

Accounts of these persecutions coming to his ear from time to time across the Atlantic, worked upon his benevolent feelings so as to bring him by degrees to the resolution of returning to England. He indulged a hope that his affairs in America would not suffer by a short absence; and that in the interim he might become an instrument, by using his personal influence with the king, which, on account of the place he had with his brother, the Duke of York, was greater than that of any other Friend, of relieving the sufferings of his oppressed countrymen and Friends: No doubt the desire he had to settle the dispute with Lord Baltimore, which could only be finally terminated by the Lords' Committee of Plantations in London, influenced him the same way. His desire and duty to be with his wife and children, who were not, probably, able to leave their affairs at home and undergo the privations of a new settlement, could not but draw him the same way. Nor did it escape him that by meeting his enemies

there, who were then numerous, he would be enabled to do away the many calumnies which they had propagated concerning him in his absence.

But many things were to be done before he could depart with satisfaction. An object near his heart was to know not only all the Indians within his own domains but those bordering upon them, with a view to their civilization and the perpetuation of love and friendship on both sides. He had held frequent conferences with them for these purposes; in which he had advised them against the use of strong liquors, and endeavored to inculcate in them a just sense of the benefit of a Christian life and conduct; but now he redoubled his efforts, and this with so much success that, before the time of his departure came, he had made, at Pennsbury and other places, treaties of amity with no less than nineteen tribes of a different name. Indeed nothing could exceed his love for these poor people, or his desire of instructing them, so as to bring them by degrees to the knowledge of the Christian religion; and in this great work he spared no expense, though whatever he bestowed in this way came solely out of his own pocket. Oldmixon says "that he laid out several thousand pounds to instruct, support, and oblige them." The consequence was, on their part, an attachment to him and his successors which was never broken.

About this time he wrote an epistle to the members of his own religious Society in Pennsylvania, part of which is subjoined:

"Friends, it is upon me, and long hath been, from the God of truth and righteousness, to communicate to you a short word of counsel and advice. God hath brought us

hither, and we are yet among the living. He hath a work for us to do here, though the spiteful and envious will not believe us. O that we may be faithful to the measure of grace received, that the evil-minded may be disappointed! Friends, keep in the sense of that which first visited you and kept you, and He that was with you to bless you in your native country, will be with you and bless you and yours, and make you a blessing to them that you are come among, who know Him not, in this wilderness, also. The earth is the Lord's, and his presence fills it, and his power upholds it, and it is a precious thing to enjoy and use it in the sense and feeling of the same; truly this honor have all the saints, to whom He will give it for a quiet habitation. Have a care of cumber and the love and care of the world. It is the temptation that lieth nearest to those who are redeemed from looseness, or not addicted to it. God hath ordained the world for a footstool, and we must not make a throne of it, nor doth it become them who seek heavenly places in Christ Jesus. Show forth a blessed example, for the Lord's sake; and truly, blessed is that man and woman who in the invisible power rule their affections about the visible things, and who use the world as true travellers and pilgrims, whose home is not here below; such do not extort, grind, or oppress their neighbors in their dealings, but are content with moderate gain, looking to the blessing that follows. And, dear friends, remember who it was that said to his children and followers, 'Ye are brethren;' wherefore love one another, and help and assist and comfort one another. This was the new and living commandment of our blessed Lord and Master, which if you keep, then can

you not fall out, backbite, slander, go to law, or hate one another, in the sight of the world, and that for the things that perish.

“My friends, remember that the Lord hath brought you upon the stage, He hath now tried you with liberty, yea, and with power, too ; He hath now put precious opportunities into your hands ; have a care of a perverse spirit, and do not provoke the Lord ; but sanctify God, the living God, in your hearts, that his blessings may fall and rest as the dew of heaven upon you and your offspring ; then shall it be seen by the nations, that there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel, but your tents shall be goodly, and your dwellings glorious ; which is the daily humble supplication of my soul to my God and your God, and to my Father and your Father.”

While he was making preparations for going to England, the ketch Endeavour arrived from there, and anchored off Philadelphia. She brought passengers and letters, among them one to William Penn from Stephen Crisp, his old friend, to whom he wrote with so much feeling at the time of his first sailing for his new colony. It is the tender counsel of a man of great wisdom and spiritual discernment ; who knew his friend well, and had a sense of the trials which were upon him and awaiting him, and of his need to “receive a sound judgment of men,” to be a defence against his own generosity and nobility of spirit.

“DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD :

“My soul salutes thee in the fellowship of that life that reigns over death and darkness, in which is the kingdom

we seek. Nothing enters this kingdom but what is born of this life immortal; and that we may be kept in it to the end of our days is the humble prayer of thy true friend and brother in this heavenly relation, in which thou may feel my integrity in a few words.

“Dear William, I have had a great exercise of spirit concerning thee, which none knows but the Lord; for my spirit hath been much bowed into thy concern, and difficulty of thy present circumstance. I have had a sense of the various spirits, and intricate cares, and multiplicity of affairs, and they of various kinds, which daily attend thee, enough to drink up thy spirit and tire thy soul; and which, if it is not kept to the inexhaustible fountain, may be dried up. This I must tell thee which thou also knows, that the highest capacity of natural wit and parts will not, and cannot, perform what thou hast to do: viz., to propagate and advance the interest and profit of the government and plantation, and at the same time to give the interest of Truth and testimony of the holy name of God its due preference in all things; for to make the wilderness sing forth the praise of God is a skill beyond the wisdom of this world. It is greatly in man’s power to make a wilderness into fruitful fields, according to the common course of God’s providence, who gives wisdom and strength to be industrious; but, then, how He who is the Creator, may have his due honor and service thereby, is only taught by his spirit, in them who singly wait upon Him.

“There is a wisdom in government that hath respect to its own preservation by setting up what is profitable to it, and suppressing what may be a detriment. This is the

image of the true wisdom ; but the substance is the birth that is heavenly, which reigns in the Father's kingdom till all is subdued, and then gives it up to Him whose it is. There is a power on earth which is of God, by which princes decree justice—this is the image ; and there is a power which is heavenly, in which the Prince of Peace, the Lord of lords, doth reign in an everlasting kingdom, and this is the substance. By this power is the spiritual wickedness in high places brought down. He that is a true delegate in this power can do great things for God's glory, and shall have his reward, and shall be a judge of the tribes ; and whosoever else pretend to judgment will seek themselves. Beware of them ; the times are perilous. All men pretending to be believers have not faith in the Lord Jesus ; thou hast a good comprehension of things, wait also to receive a sound judgment of men.

“ I hope thou wilt bear this my style of writing to thee ; my spirit is under great weight at the writing hereof, and much I have in my heart, because I love thee much. I cannot write much at present, but to let thee know I very kindly received thy letter, and was glad to hear from thee, and always shall be. My prayer to God is for thee and you all, that you may be kept in the Lord's pure and holy way ; and above all, for thee, dear W. P., whose feet are upon a mountain, by which the eyes of many are upon thee. The Lord furnish thee with wisdom, courage, and a sound judgment. Prefer the Lord's interest, and He will make thy way prosperous.

“ Well, dear William, I might write long ere all were written that lives in my heart towards thee, but, in *summa*,

I love thee well, and salute thee dearly, in that which is unchangeable, in which

“I remain thy true friend, STEPHEN CRISP.

“LONDON, the 4th of the Third month, 1684.”

Having made the necessary dispositions relative to the administration of the government during his absence, strictly charging the officers entrusted with the principal authority to do justice to all of all degrees, without delay, fear, or regard, he repaired on board the vessel which was to convey him to the land of his nativity. He wrote from on board the vessel the following epistle, viz.:

“For Thomas Lloyd, J. Claypoole, J. Simcock, Charles Taylor, and J. Harrison, to be communicated in meetings in Pennsylvania, etc., among Friends.

“DEAR FRIENDS:—My love and my life is to you and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me and near to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord; and my God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty, all the land over. Oh, that you would eye Him in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands; and let it be your first care how you may glorify God in your undertakings. For to a blessed end are you brought hither; and if you see and keep in the sense of that Providence, your coming, staying, and improving will be sanctified; but if any forget God, and call not upon his name in Truth, He will pour out his plagues upon them; and

they shall know who it is that judgeth the children of men.

“O, you are now come to a quiet land; provoke not the Lord to trouble it. And now that liberty and authority are with you, and in your hands, let the government be upon his shoulders, in all your spirits; that you may rule for Him, under whom the princes of this world will one day esteem it their honor to govern and serve in their places. I cannot but say, when these things come mightily upon my mind, as the apostle did of old, ‘What manner of persons ought we to be, in all holy conversation and godliness?’

“And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!

“O that thou mayst be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee! that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness thou mayst be preserved to the end. My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power.

“So, dear friends, my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy, and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you; so says, so prays your friend and lover in the Truth,

WILLIAM PENN.

“From on board the ketch Endeavor, the Sixth month, 1684.”

XV.

WILLIAM PENN landed in England after a passage of about seven weeks. A letter has been preserved which he wrote soon after his arrival to Margaret Fox, the wife of George Fox, in which he says: "It is now a few days above three weeks since I arrived well in my native land. It was within seven miles of my own house, where I found my dear wife and poor children well, to the overcoming of my heart, because of the mercies of the Lord to us." We find by this letter, in which he thanked her for the love she had shown his wife during his absence, "that he had not missed a meal's meat or a night's rest since he went to that country; and that wonderfully had the Lord preserved him through many troubles, in the settlement he had made, both with respect to the government and the soil." With respect to the settlement, notwithstanding the false reports in circulation,—reports arising from envy, he could say "that things went on sweetly with Friends there; that many increased finely in their outward things, and grew also in wisdom, and that their meetings were blessed, of which there were no less than eighteen in the province."

Another letter has been preserved which he wrote, some weeks after that to Margaret Fox, to his friend Stephen Crisp. This worthy minister had written to him since his arrival in England, to inform him of the many reports

in circulation that were injurious to his character. One of the charges that were made against him was, that he had dishonored his religious profession as a Quaker. To this he replied "that he knew of no act of hostility. There was an old timber-house at Newcastle, above the sessions-chamber, standing upon a green, on which lay seven old iron small cannon, some on the ground, and others on broken carriages; but there was neither a military man, nor powder, nor bullet, belonging to them. They were the property of the government of New York. How far the people of Newcastle might, in consequence of Colonel Talbot's threatenings, have drawn them into security, and paled about their prison since he came away, he could not tell; but he was sure that, while he was there, no soldier or militiaman was ever seen; nor had any individual any commission of war from him, nor was there any law to that end. With respect to making money of the settlement, another of the charges, he had never made it a matter of gain, but had hazarded his life, and maintained government and Governor these four years past. With respect to the alteration of the charter, about which there had been so much clamor, what had been altered (and that very little) had been by the people's desire, and not for any end of his own. Besides the alteration was not immutable, as it was to be submitted to time and place and the public good. And with regard to the addition lately made to Philadelphia, it could afford no just cause of complaint. He had bought the land there of the old inhabitants, the Swedes. This had enabled him to add eight hundred acres to the city, and a mile on a navigable river. What he had thus bought, he had given freely to the public; though,

had he retained it, considering its situation, it had been of extraordinary advantage to himself. But he could not,' he said, "hope to please all."

Soon after his arrival in England he waited on the king and Duke of York, as related in the following extract from fragments of an autobiography, published by the Historical Society of Philadelphia:

"I arrived from America the 6th of October, '84, at Wonder, in Sussex, being within seven miles of my own house; whence, after some days of refreshment, I went to wait upon the king and duke, then both at New Market, who received me very graciously, as did the ministers very civilly. Yet I found things in general with another face than I left them—sour and stern, and resolved to hold the reins of power with a stiffer hand than heretofore, especially over those that were observed to be state or church dissenters, conceiving that the opposition which made the government uneasy came from that sort of people, and, therefore, they should either bow or break.

"This made it hard for me, a professed dissenter, to turn myself; for that party having been my acquaintance, my inclination, and my interest too: to shift them I would not, to serve them I saw I could not, and to keep fair with a displeased and resolved government, that had weathered its point upon them, humbled and mortified them, and was daily improving all advantages against them, was a difficult task to perform.

"Finding myself narrowed in this manner, I cast about in mind what way I might be helpful to the public and as little hurtful to my concerns as I could, for I had then a cause depending about bounds of land in America with

the Lord Baltimore, before the council, that was of importance to me.

“Upon the whole matter, I found no point so plain, so honest, so sensible, that carried such weight, conviction, and compassion with it, and that would consequently find an easier reception and more friends than liberty of conscience, my old post and province. I therefore sought out some bleeding cases, which was not hard to do, Bristol, Norwich, etc., being ready at hand in bloody letters,—barbarities never used certainly in a Protestant country, especially at Bristol. The relations are in print. But finding them uneasy under generals, as too much to grant at once, I began with a particular case. It was that of Richard Vickris, an honest, sober, and sensible man, of good reputation and estate in that city. He was under sentence of death, upon the statute of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, for not abjuring the realm as Dr. Cheney did, that was under sentence. His crime only worshipping of God his own way, but could not abjure because he could not swear at all. The heat had been great in that city, and an example they would make, and chose these two men, as eminent in their persuasion and as having something to lose. But the thing looked so like a snare, the fruit of private malice and avarice, and the said R. Vickris being a meek and quiet person, upon my assuring them he was, and would live peaceably under the government, the duke promised to press the king in his favor, who grew harsh and very tender to be spoken to upon that head, though for the very Papists in the new case of the long writ set a-foot about that time. And the duke was as good as his word. He was pardoned.

“That my design might succeed the better with the king, it came into my mind to write something of the true interest of the king and kingdom, have it transcribed fair, and present it in manuscript, the times being too set and rough for print. In this I undertook to show, that since it was so that this kingdom was divided into such great bodies, opposite to each other, and near an equality in strength and value, all things considered, though not perhaps in number, and that nothing would serve either party but the ruin of the other, and that it was too great a loss to his crown to gratify either so far, he was not to suffer his authority to humor their passions, but overrule both with justice, wisdom, and goodness, that he might be king and have the benefit of his whole people.

“Adding, that he might be easy if the uneasy are made so, and not sooner; and that the revenue was not as in old time, upon tenures and in lands, but upon trade, which lay much in the hands of the party he was angry with; however, that it would discourage and confound trade, to be sure, if he changed the course of his government, and therefore to look upon past things as a king, and not as a man, without passion, and not suffer his own resentment or his ministers’ flatteries, interests, or revenges to carry him further than was good for his interest. And that upon the trial of a true liberty of conscience, he would find [it] more the advantage of the crown than any private man or particular party.”

A letter of William Penn to Thomas Lloyd, dated the 16th of the First month (March), 1685, informs him of the death of King Charles II.:

“The king is dead, and the duke succeeds peaceably

He was well on First day night, being the first of February, so called. About eight next morning, as he sat down to shave, his head twitched both ways or sides, and he gave a shriek and fell as dead, and so remained some hours. They opportunely blooded and cupped him and plied his head with red-hot frying-pans. He returned (revived), and continued till Sixth day noon, but mostly in great tortures. He seemed very penitent, asking pardon of all, even the poorest subject he had wronged; prayed for pardon, and to be delivered out of the world—the duke appearing mighty humble and sorrowful. . . . He was an able man for a divided and troubled kingdom. The present king was proclaimed about three o'clock that day. A proclamation followed, with the king's speech, to maintain the church and state as established, to keep property and use clemency. Severities continue still, but some ease to us faintly promised. Be careful that no indecent speeches pass against the government, for the king, going with his queen publicly to mass at Whitehall, gives occasion. He declared he concealed himself to obey his brother, and that now he would be above-board, which we like the better on many accounts. I was with him, and told him so; but, withal, hoped we should come in for a share. He smiled, and said he desired not that peaceable people should be disturbed for their religion. And till his coronation, the 23d, when he and his consort are together to be crowned, no hopes of release; and till the Parliament no hopes of any fixed liberty. My business, I would hope, is better. The late king, the Papists will have, died a Roman Catholic; for he refused (after his usual way of evading uneasy things, with unpreparedness first and then weakness)

the Church of England's communion, Bishop Ken, of Wells, pressing him that it would be to his comfort and that of his people to see he died of that religion he had made profession of when living, but it would not do; and once all but the duke, Earl of Bath, and Lord Feversham were turned out, and one Huddleston, a Romish priest, was seen about that time near the chamber. This is most of our news. The popish lords and gentry go to Whitehall to mass daily, and the tower or royal chapel is crammed, by vieing with the Protestant lords and gentry.

"Alas! the world is running over to you; and great quantities together [alluding to large purchases made by speculators at first prices] is to put the sale of lands out of my own hands, after I have spent what I got by my own on the public service, for I am £3000 worse in my estate than at first: I can say it before the Lord: I have only the comfort of having approved myself a faithful steward to my understanding and ability; and yet I hope my children shall receive it in the love of yours when we are gone." "Keep up the people's hearts and loves, etc. I hope to be with them next fall, if the Lord prevent not. I long to be with you. No temptations prevail to fix me here. The Lord send us a good meeting. Amen, etc."

William Penn had for many years been admitted to familiar friendship by James, while Duke of York. Being desirous of improving the influence which he possessed with the king, to the advantage of his suffering friends, he took lodgings at Kensington, a village two miles west of London. He appears to have made it his business to serve his friends; and as every man is a friend to him that

giveth gifts, he soon found the number of his very great. His house and gates were daily thronged with clients and suppliants desiring him to present their addresses to the king. According to Gerard Croese, there were sometimes upwards of two hundred of these applicants in attendance. But instead of becoming impatient with their importunity, he treated them with the utmost kindness, and promoted their desires with promptitude and cheerfulness. Instead of seeking emolument from these incessant labors, he often defrayed, out of his own funds, the expense unavoidably attendant upon the preparation of the documents which passed through his hands. Yet, numerous as were the applications for the employment of his interest at court, he does not appear to have waited for an application when he knew of cases in which his interference could be of use; nor were his efforts confined to those in which the members of his own religious Society were concerned.

Soon after the accession of King James, an address was presented to him showing that upward of 1400 members of the Society of Friends were prisoners in England and Wales, on account of their religion. "Besides some hundreds had died prisoners, many by means of this long imprisonment, since the year 1680, thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families desolate in distress and sorrow." But they were not freed till a year afterwards, and then chiefly through William Penn's efforts.

The following is an extract from a letter by William Penn to his steward, James Harrison, dated Kensington, 11th of Fifth month (July), 1685. "We are all well through the Lord's mercy, and long to be with you,

especially the children; my business here has been thrown off, with other people's, first by the late king's death, then the coronation, next the Parliament, now this insurrection, almost over, for the Duke of Monmouth is defeated, and he and Grey taken; will be brought up to London next third day. I hope now I may be dispatched. We had a blessed, quiet, though but a small General Meeting; things are very well on Truth's account in this nation and Ireland.

"Salute me to Friends generally, and to your meeting especially. I beseech God to bless you with Joseph's portion. My love to my family [his servants at Pennsbury].

"O that they would, from the Lord, be sober and diligent, that they may have a good name and be my joy."

The Duke of Monmouth's insurrection and defeat was followed by many cruel executions. In a letter of Penn to James Harrison, dated 2d of Eighth month (October), 1685, he says: "About three hundred hanged in divers towns in the west, about one thousand to be transported. I begged twenty of the king. Col. Holmes, young Hays, the two Hewlings, Lark, and Hix, ministers, are executed. Preparations in Westminster Hall for trial of Lords Grey, Delamere, Gerard, etc. Sir G. Gerard and Sir R. Cotton committed.

"The keeper dead, and Lord Jeffreys, Chief-Justice and Baron of W——, made Lord Chamberlain, and is, as said, to be Earl of C——."

In another of his letters to his steward, near the same date, he thus refers to two executions which had just taken place, one of them of an excellent woman who had

spent her life in doing good to the poor. "There is daily inquisition for those engaged in the late plots, some die denying, as Alderman Cornish, others confessing, but justifying. Cornish died last sixth day, in Cheapside, for being at the meeting that Lord Russell died for, but denied it most vehemently to the last. A woman, one Gaunt of Wappen, of Doct. Moore's acquaintance, was burned the same day at Tyburn for the high treason of hiding one of Monmouth's army, and the man saved came in [as witness] against her. She died composedly and fearless, interpreting the cause of her death God's cause. Many more to be hanged, great and small. . It is a day to be wise. I long to be with you, but the eternal God do as he pleases. . O! be watchful, fear and sanctify the Lord in your hearts. In France, not a meeting of Protestants left; they force all, by not suffering them to sleep, to conform; they use drums or fling water on the drowsy till they submit or run mad. They pray to be killed, but the king has ordered his dragoons to do anything but kill. * * * Such as fly and are caught, are executed or sent to the galleys to row. Thus they use all qualities, from dukes and duchesses to the meanest of that way. Many [persons] and much wealth will visit your parts. Be wise, weighty, and strict against looseness. Believe me, it is an extraordinary day, such as has not been since generations ago. Read this to weighty Friends and magistrates, in private, and gird up your loins and serve the Lord in this juncture. No matter in what part they settle in our country, let not temporal interest sway, - on my land or on theirs that have bought of me; no matter, the public will [gain] in a while by their establishment."

The history of Monmouth's invasion has little connection with the biography of William Penn, except as he was indirectly involved in its consequences. It is well known that after the defeat of the duke, the military commanders, Feversham and Kirk, manifested very great cruelty towards his unfortunate accomplices; and that Chief-Justice Jeffreys astonished and disgusted the nation by the severity with which he punished those who were charged with participating in the rebellion. So great indeed was the terror infused into the juries by the menaces of the judge, that very little evidence of guilt was required to insure conviction; and so unrelenting the rigor with which trifling offences were visited, that some were executed for having furnished hay or victuals to Monmouth's soldiers. The sufferers being mostly persons in the humbler walks of life, could not be objects of jealousy with the court. Hence the severity with which they were treated created the greater odium. Although these barbarities were originally inflicted by the military and judicial organs of the government, the king turned the odium upon himself by rewarding the inhumanity of Jeffreys with a peerage and the office of chancellor. The measures which followed were generally considered as clear indications of a determination, on the part of the king, to govern the nation without regard to the restraints of law; and the proceedings in favor of the Romish religion awakened anew the dread of popery and arbitrary power, which the declaration of James, upon his accession to the crown, had contributed to allay.

Every part of William Penn's conduct leads to the conclusion that he countenanced none of these things, yet

his intimacy at court, and his supposed influence with the king, turned upon him no inconsiderable share of the odium which attended the religion of the king and the measures of government. But in this case, as usually happens, the tongue of slander defeated its own purposes, at least with posterity, by loading his character with charges too inconsistent with its general tenor to admit of belief. Not satisfied with imputing to him a participation in the political errors of James, over which he certainly had no control, they represented him to be Papist or Jesuit, or engaged in a correspondence with the Jesuits at Rome. He was even said to have been bred at St. Omer's, and to have received a priest's orders at Rome. As it was obvious he was married, which the Romish priests were not permitted to be, it was asserted that he had obtained a dispensation from the pope for that purpose.

The charge of his being at least popishly inclined, some persons even in the higher ranks appear to have given credit to. Among this class was Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who, having imbibed a suspicion of him, dropped some expressions which were afterwards reported to his disadvantage. This coming to the ears of William Penn, he wrote to the doctor on the subject; a correspondence followed, which terminated in a full conviction, in the mind of the latter, that the suspicion was groundless. The correspondence is subjoined.

William Penn to Dr. Tillotson.

“WORTHY FRIEND:—Being often told that Dr. Tillotson should suspect me, and so report me, a Papist, I think a Jesuit, and being closely prest, I take the liberty to ask

thee if any such reflection fell from thee; if it did, I am sorry one I esteemed ever the first of his robe should so undeservedly stain me, for so I call it; and if the story be false, I am sorry they should abuse Dr. Tillotson, as well as myself, without a cause. I add no more but that I abhor two principles in religion, and pity them that own them. The first is obedience upon authority without conviction; and the other, destroying them that differ from me for God's sake. Such a religion is without judgment, though not without teeth—union is best, if right; else charity—and, as Hooker said, ‘The time will come when a few words spoken with meekness and humility and love shall be more acceptable than volumes of controversies;’ which commonly destroy charity, the very best part of true religion—I mean not a charity that can change with all, but bear all, as I can Dr. Tillotson in what he dissents from me, and in this reflection, too, if said, which is not yet believed by

“Thy Christian true friend, WILLIAM PENN.

“CHARING-CROSS, 22d of the Eleventh month, 1685-86.”

Dr. Tillotson to William Penn.

“January 26th, 1685.

“HONORED SIR:—The demand of your letter is very just and reasonable, and the manner of it very kind, therefore in answer to it, be pleased to take the following account. The last time you did me the favor to see me at my house, I did, according to the freedom I always use, where I profess any friendship, acquaint you with something I had heard of a correspondence you held with some at Rome, and particularly with some of the Jesuits there. At

which you seemed a little surprised, and after some general discourse about it, you said you would call on me some other time, and speak further of it; since that time I never saw you, but by accident and in passage, where I thought you always declined me, particularly at Sir William Jones's chamber, which was the last time, I think, I saw you; upon which occasion I took notice to him of your strangeness to me, and told him what I thought might be the reason of it, and that I was sorry for it, because I had a particular esteem of your parts and temper.

"Whenever you will please to satisfy me that my suspicion of the truth of that report I had heard was groundless, I will heartily beg your pardon for it. I do fully concur with you in the abhorrence of the two principles you mention, and in your approbation of that excellent saying of Mr. Hooker's, for which I shall ever highly esteem him. I have endeavored to make it one of the governing principles of my life, never to abate anything of humanity or charity to any man for his difference from me in opinion, and particularly to those of your persuasion, as several of them have had experience. I have been ready upon all occasions to do all offices of kindness, being truly sorry to see them so hardly used; and though I thought them mistaken, yet in the main I believed them to be very honest. I thank you for your letter, and have a just esteem of the Christian temper of it, and rest,

"Your faithful friend, JO. TILLOTSON."

William Penn to Dr. Tillotson.

"WORTHY FRIEND:—Having a much less opinion of my own memory than of Dr. Tillotson's truth, I will al-

low the fact, though not the jealousy. For besides that I cannot look strangely where I am well used: I have ever treated the name of Dr. Tillotson with another regard. I might be grave, and full of my own business; I was also then disappointed by the doctor's; but my nature is not harsh, my education less, and my principle least of all. It was the opinion I have had of the doctor's moderation, simplicity, and integrity, rather than his parts, or post, that always made me set a value upon his friendship, of which, perhaps, I am better judge, leaving the latter to men of deeper talents. I blame him nothing, but leave it to his better thoughts, if in my affair, his jealousy was not too nimble for his charity. If he can believe me, I should hardly prevail with myself to endure the same thought of Dr. Tillotson on the like occasion, and less to speak of it. For the Roman correspondence I will freely come to confession. I have not only no such thing with any Jesuit at Rome (though Protestants may have without offence), but I hold none with any Jesuit, priest, or regular in the world, of that communion. And that the doctor may see what a novice I am in that business, I know not one anywhere. And yet, when all this is said, I am a Catholic, though not a Roman. I have bowels for mankind, and dare not deny others what I crave for myself, I mean liberty for the exercise of my religion; thinking faith, piety, and Providence a better security than force, and that if Truth cannot prevail with her own weapons, all others will fail her.

“Now, though I am not obliged to this defence, and that it can be no temporizing now to make it, yet that Dr. Tillotson may see how much I value his good opinion, and

dare own the truth and myself at all turns, let him be confident I am no Roman Catholic, but a Christian, whose creed is the Scripture, of the truth of which I hold a nobler evidence than the best church authority in the world. I recommend him to my 'Address to Protestants,' from page 133 to the end, and to the four first chapters of my 'No Cross, No Crown;' to say nothing of our most in-ceremonious and unworldly way of worship, and their pompous cult; where at this time I shall leave the business, with all due and sensible acknowledgments to thy friendly temper, and assurance of the sincere wishes and respects of thy affectionate real friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

"CHARING-CROSS, the 29th of the Eleventh month, 1686."

Dr. Tillotson to William Penn.

"April the 29th, 1686.

"SIR :—I am very sorry that the suspicion which I had entertained concerning you, of which I gave you the true account in my former letter, hath occasioned so much trouble and inconvenience to you. And I do now declare with great joy, that I am fully satisfied there was no just ground for that suspicion, and therefore I do heartily beg your pardon for it. And ever since you were pleased to give me that satisfaction, I have taken all occasions to vindicate you in this matter. I am very much in the country, but will seek the first opportunity to visit you at Charing-cross, and renew our acquaintance, in which I took great pleasure. I rest,

"Your faithful friend,

JO. TILLOTSON."

XVI.

WILLIAM PENN had received, since his residence in England, several letters, both private and official, from Pennsylvania. He was pleased to find that the members of his own Society had conducted themselves generally well, and that they had endeavored to promote one of his favorite objects. They had been careful to prevent the introduction of strong liquors among the Indians, and they had held several religious meetings with them. The Indians, it appears, generally heard with patience what was said to them at these times, and seemed affected by it; but the impression was not durable. These efforts, however, were very pleasing to one who knew well that every work must have a beginning, and that the best could not be brought to perfection without perseverance. Other intelligence contained in these letters was far from agreeable.

In a letter from William Penn to James Harrison, his steward, dated 30th of Fifth month (July), '85, he says: "I have had two letters more with three bills of exchange. I am sorry the public is so unmindful of me as not to prevent bills upon me, that am come on their errand, and had rather have lost a thousand pounds than have stirred from Pennsylvania. The reproaches that I hear daily of the conduct of things, bears hard upon my spirit too.

"The Lord order things for his glory. James, send no

more bills, for I have enough to do to keep all even here, and think of returning with my family: that can't be (done) without vast charge." In a letter, about the same time, to him and others, he says: "I am sorry at heart for your animosities. Cannot more friendly and private courses be taken, to set matters right in an infant province, whose steps are numbered and watched? For the love of God, me and the poor country, be not so governmentish, so noisy, and open in your dissatisfactions. Some folks love hunting in government itself." He deprecated the heavy charges which had been made for titles to land. "It is an abominable thing to have three warrants for one purchase; 't is oppression that my soul loathes. Why not one warrant for all, at least for liberty-lot and the remainder? This is true and right oppression, besides several things set down that are not in law nor in my regulations."

It appears that he had not long left the colony before it fell into disorder, which shows how much his presence had been the life and support of it. And this disorder, which began with one or two individuals of looser character, spread to the bodies politic. The Assembly, where the animosities above mentioned first showed themselves, proceeded so far as to impeach one of their members, Nicholas Moore, and instructed their Speaker to inform the Governor of the fact.

The letter from the Assembly, though it had the appearance of being both affectionate and respectful, was the cause of great uneasiness to William Penn, for Moore had conducted himself so well, not only as a private man, but in his office as President of the Free Society of Traders of

Pennsylvania, that the Governor had made him one of the provincial judges before his departure for England. He believed that he had been far too rigidly dealt with, the reputed misdemeanors being of a political and not of a moral nature; and, believing this, he foresaw that he should be obliged to signify his opinion to the Assembly, by which the first stone would be cast, as it were, for at least a temporary disagreement between them.

Soon after this he ushered into the world a work called "A Persuasive to Moderation to Dissenting Christians, in Prudence and Conscience, humbly Submitted to the King and his Great Council."

In the opening paragraph, he says: "Moderation, the subject of this discourse, is, in plainer English, liberty of conscience to church dissenters; a cause I have, with all humility undertaken to plead against the prejudices of the times. By conscience I understand the apprehension and persuasion a man has of his duty to God; by liberty of conscience, I mean a free and open profession and exercise of that duty, especially in worship. But I always premise this duty to keep within the bounds of morality. and that it be neither frantic nor mischievous, but a good subject, a good child, a good servant in all the affairs of life; as exact to yield to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, as jealous of withholding from God the things that are God's. In brief, he that acknowledges the civil government under which he lives, and that maintains no principle hurtful to his neighbor in his civil property.

"In our own time we see the benefit of a discreet indulgence. Holland, that bog of the world, neither sea nor dry land, now the rival of the tallest monarchs, not by

conquests, marriage, or accession of royal blood,—the usual way to empire,—but by her own superlative clemency and industry, for the one was the effect of the other ; she cherished her people whatsoever were their opinions, as the reasonable stock of the country, the heads and hands of her trade and wealth, and making them easy on the main point, their conscience, she became great by them. This made her fill up with people, and they filled her with riches and strength.”

He proceeded to show both the prudence and reasonableness of religious toleration, by the great benefits which would follow it. Among other arguments, such as that property would be more secure, and that subjects would be more industrious, flourishing, satisfied, and happy, he contended, as no trifling additional argument, that the prince would in that case have the benefit, not of a part only, but of his whole people. “As things then stood, no Churchman meant no Englishman, and no Conformist meant no subject. Thus it may happen that the ablest statesman, the bravest captain, and the best citizen may be disabled, and the prince forbid their employment to his service.”

“He concluded by an appeal to nature. He considered the natural world as full of discordant things ; but yet, Providence, by his own all-wise disposition, had so brought them together as to produce the most perfect harmony. In like manner, he believed that the concord of discords afforded a firm basis for civil government. The business was to tune these discords well ; and that could be done by one who was a skilful musician.”

The last argument which he advanced was the happy

effect of the Declaration of Indulgence made by the late king in 1671. Dissenters being "uneasy, their persons and estates being exposed to pay the reckoning of their dissent, no doubt but every party shifted as they could. Most grew selfish, at least jealous." But after the declaration, "Whitehall and St. James' were as much visited and courted by the dissenters and their respective agents as if they had been of the family; for, that which eclipsed the royal goodness being by his own hand thus removed, his benign influences drew the returns of sweetness and duty from that part of his subjects which the want of those influences had made barren before. Then it was that we looked like the members of one family, and children of one parent; nor did we envy our eldest brother Episcopacy his inheritance, so that we had but a child's portion. For not only discontents vanished, but no matter was left for ill spirits, foreign or domestic, to brood upon or hatch to mischief, which was a plain proof that it is the union of interests, and not of opinions, that gives peace to kingdoms." Such a declaration of indulgence he hoped would be made again. He saw no other way of putting an end to civil "animosities, which, by fresh accidents falling in, had swelled to a mighty deluge; such an one as had overwhelmed our former civil concord and security. And pardon me if I say I cannot see that those waters are likely to assuage till this olive-branch of indulgence be some way or other restored. The waves will still cover our earth; and a spot of earth will hardly be found in this, our glorious isle, for a great number of useful people to set a quiet foot upon."

The "Persuasive to Moderation" was said to have had a considerable effect both upon the king and his council;

for very soon after its appearance in public, a proclamation was issued by the former for a general pardon to all those who were then in prison on account of their consciences. The result was that, of the Friends only, not less than 1200 persons were restored to their families, many of whom had been in confinement for years. That this happy event might have sprung in part, or, as far as the council had any hand it, from the "Persuasive to Moderation," as was then believed by many, is not improbable; but certain it is, as far as the king was concerned, that it was to be ascribed in a great measure to the personal solicitations of William Penn. While he resided at Kensington he never lost sight of the great object which he had left his own government to promote. He had opportunities of unfolding much more to the king on this subject than the "Persuasive to Moderation" itself contained; and of enforcing his arguments by bringing to view affecting cases of individual suffering, and the distress and ruin of their nearest and dearest connections, deprived of their comfort and support. These opportunities he used freely; and it is to his honor that when his most earnest entreaties were poured forth in behalf of the members of his own religious society, they were extended for all others of his countrymen, of whatever religious denomination, who were suffering from the same cause.

William Penn, having witnessed the happy effects of this proclamation, determined upon a tour to the continent to visit the churches there. The king, learning his intention, gave him a commission which he was to execute in his way. He was to go to the Hague, and there confer with the Prince of Orange, and endeavor to gain his con-

sent to a general religious toleration in England, together with the removal of all tests. It has been usually supposed that when the king wished for toleration to his subjects, he had in view his favorites, the Roman Catholics, and that it was on their account solely that he was desirous of the measure. William Penn was not of this opinion. It was his belief that though James the Second was himself a Papist, he was yet a friend to religious liberty. But whether this, his belief, was correct or not, the commission given him by the king was congenial to his own principles and feelings. Accordingly, when he went to the continent, he went first to the Hague, where he had several interviews with the prince on the subject. At this time, Burnet, the historian, was at the same court, endeavoring to prevail upon the prince to give his sanction to a toleration in England, but not to the removal of tests. Here he and William Penn met. They spent several hours together in conversing upon the point in question. William Penn would not relax in the least. If tests were to be a security for toleration, they were unnecessary, because if dissenters conducted themselves unconstitutionally they would come within the reach of the laws. This perseverance irritated Burnet. Indeed Burnet was not well disposed to him before, believing him to be a Papist, if not a Jesuit. But now he was prejudiced against him, so that he mentioned him in a way to lower him in the estimation of the reader when he had occasion to speak of him in the History of his own Times.

Having left the Hague, he proceeded to Amsterdam and Utrecht; but we know nothing after this of the particular places which he visited. All we know is, that he extended

his journey to Germany, and that he was satisfied with the result of it; for, in a letter which he wrote to one of his friends in America after his return from it, he says, that "he had had a blessed service for the Lord."

On his arrival in England he proceeded directly to Worminghurst. But here he did not remain long. The same cause which had occasioned him to go into Holland and Germany impelled him to travel over a considerable part of his native land. He visited Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the counties of Westmoreland and Durham. In all these he labored in the vineyard of the Gospel; and it appears that he was equally satisfied with this as with his foreign journey, thankfully confessing that "the Lord had been with him at this season in a sweet and melting life, to the great joy of himself and refreshment of his friends."

It appears by a letter dated Worminghurst, addressed to Thomas Lloyd, the president of his council, to have been William Penn's opinion that the Assembly had conducted themselves rashly. "I rejoice," says he, "that God has preserved your health so well, and that his blessings are upon the earth, but grieved at the bottom of my heart for the heats and disorders among the people. This quarrel about 'the Free Society of Traders' has made your great guns heard hither. I entreat thee to consider of the true reason of our unhappiness of that side (Pennsylvania) among our magistrates. Is it not their self-value? Men should be meek, humble, grave. This draws reverence and love together. This wise and good men will do. Is any one out of the way? They should not so much look

at his infirmities, as take care they are not also overtaken ; eyeing how many good qualities the offender has to serve the public, and not cast a whole apple away for one side being defective.”

Penn wrote to his friend, James Harrison, as follows :—
“For my coming over (to Pennsylvania) cheer up the people ; I press what I can, but the great undertakings that crowd me, and to raise money to get away, hinders me yet, but my heart is with you, and my soul and love is after you. The Lord keep us here in this dark day. Be wise, close, respectful to superiors. The king has discharged all Friends by a general pardon, and is courteous to us, though as to the Church of England things seem pinching. Several Roman Catholics get much into places in the army, navy, and court.” “My ‘Persuasive’ works much among all sorts, and is divers spoken of. I have been thrice taken at meetings, but got off, blessed be the Lord.”

By letters written subsequently, to the before-mentioned Thomas Lloyd, and to James Harrison, his agent for the estate and manor of Pennsbury, it appears that he had serious cause to be grieved on other accounts. He writes, “Being come home, I found thine from Philadelphia of the 3d of Eighth month past, by which I am both gladdened and troubled.

“Glad that three such honest Friends, whom I love in my heart, are in that station of service, as your being the provincial judges. I know also that you are men of a good understanding, and friends to me and my honest interest, but I could have wished you easier and better work. * * *

“Next I am sorry at heart that my letters to the council are so slightly regarded. * * *

“I have with a religious mind consecrated my pains in a prudent frame [of government], but I see it is not valued, understood, or kept to, so that the charter is over and over again forfeited if I would take advantage of it. Nay, I hear my name is really not mentioned in public acts of state, nor the king’s, which is of dangerous consequence to the persons and things they have transacted, since they have no power but what is derived from me, as mine is from the king.”

He also complained that they had entirely neglected the supply which they had promised him. On this latter subject he descended to particulars. He stated “that his quit-rents were then at least of the value of five hundred pounds a year, and then due, though he could not get a penny. I am above six thousand pounds out of pocket more than ever I saw by the province; and you may throw in my pains, cares, and hazard of life, and leaving of my family and friends to serve them.”

From the same letters it may be collected, that he began to be embarrassed for want of remittances from America, so that, though it was his intention to have returned there in the autumn of the present year, he was prevented in some measure from so doing on this account. He declared that the neglect of the supply, which the council had promised him in consequence of his great expense on account of the province, was one cause which kept him from Pennsylvania, adding, “that he would not spend his private estate to discharge a public station.” “There is nothing my soul breathes more for in this world, next my

dear family's life, than that I may see poor Pennsylvania again, but I cannot force my way hence, and see nothing done on that side inviting."

To remedy these and other matters, it appears that, after having taken into consideration the conduct of the council, he resolved, though they had forfeited their charter, to let them remain as such; but he would no longer allow them to have also the executive power in their hands. One reason of their tardiness and negligence he conceived might be their number, great bodies being more unwieldy and moving with less celerity than smaller. He determined, therefore, to reduce the executive to five persons, and made out a fresh commission accordingly. The following are the opening and closing clauses of the commission :

WILLIAM PENN,

PROPRIETOR AND GOVERNOR.

"To my trusty and well-beloved Friends, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Moore, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eccles, or any three of them, in Philadelphia.

"Trusty and well beloved ! I heartily salute you. Lest any should scruple the termination of President Lloyd's commission with his place in the provincial council, and to the end that there may be a more constant residence of the honorary and governing part of the government, for the keeping all things in good order, I have sent a fresh commission of deputation to you, making any three of you a quorum to act in the execution of the laws, enacting, disannulling, or varying of laws, as if I myself were

there present; reserving to myself the confirmation of what is done, and my peculiar royalties and advantages.

"Be most just, as in the sight of the all-seeing, all-searching God; and, before you let your spirits into an affair, retire to Him, (who is not far away from any of you, and by whom kings reign and princes decree justice), that He may give you a good understanding and government of yourselves in the management thereof; which is that which truly crowns public actions, and dignifies those that perform them. The ship is ready to sail; so I shall only admonish you in general, that, next to the preservation of virtue, you have a tender regard to peace and my privileges, in which enact from time to time. Love, forgive, help, and serve one another; and let the people learn by your example, as well as by your power, the happy life of concord. So, commending you to God's grace and keeping, I bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at Worminghurst, in old England, the 1st of the Twelfth month, 1686."

Some time after he wrote:

"To my trusty and well-beloved friends, Thomas Lloyd, Robert Turner, James Claypole, John Simcock, and John Eccles, Philadelphia.

"I salute you all with unfeigned love; and in Christ Jesus, wish you health and happiness. My last is by the same hand, this being sent to the Downs after him, upon the receipt of Thomas Lloyd's and William Markham's letters. I am heartily sorry that I had no letter from the government; indeed, I have hardly had one at all; and [as] for private letters, though from public persons, I

regard them but little; I mean, as to taking of my public measures by; for I find such contradiction as well as diversity, that I believe I may say, I am one of the unhappiest proprietaries with one of the best people.

“I shall henceforth expect letters from the government recounting the affairs of it, that they may be authoritative to me; and as many private ones of love and friendship as you please beside, for that I also rejoice in; and any particular advices that may inform me, as to the public, or remedy what may be amiss, or ameliorate what is in itself well, will also be very acceptable to me.

“Now I have said this, I cannot but condole the loss of some standards in the province—honest men, and of good understandings in their kind. The Lord avert his judgments, and constrain all by his visitations, to amend, be it in conversation, or be it in peace, concord, and charity. They that live near to God will live far from themselves; and from the sense they have of his nearness and majesty, have a low opinion of themselves; and out of that low and humble frame of spirit it is that true charity grows, the most excellent way. Ah! what shall I say? There can be no union, no comfortable society without it! Oh, that the people of my province and parts annexed, felt this gracious quality abounding in them. My work would soon be done, and their praise and my joy unspeakably abound to us. Wherefore, in the name and fear of God, let all old scores be forgotten as well as forgiven. Shut out the remembrance of them, and preach this doctrine to the people in my name, yea, in the king’s name, and his that is greater and above all, namely, God Almighty’s name.

“I have only to recommend to you the due execution of the divers good laws among you impartially and diligently; not neglecting the orders from hence sent, especially for peace and concord. Government is not to make, but to do, and despatch business; in which few words, and a quiet but brisk execution does best. I write to you about my quit-rents; I am forced to pay bills here, for the support of my family when there, while I have four or five hundred pounds per annum in quit-rents there. You may remember the vote of council to pay my charges in this expedition. I could draw a large bill upon the provincial council in that regard—I am sure I need it—but have forborne; though it is none of the endearingest considerations, that I have not had the present of a skin or pound of tobacco since I came over; though they are like to have most advantage by it, and promised so much.

“Pray prevent people withdrawing from us what you can. They cannot mend themselves, and ~~they~~ that go will find it so in a while, for I believe God has blessed that poor place; and the reason of my stay here, and the service I am, and have been, to the conscientious, shall be rewarded on my solitary province. Remember me to the people; and let them know my heart’s desires towards them, and shall embrace the first opportunity to make my abode with them.”

XVII.

SOON after the proclamation of pardon already noticed, King James checked the rapacity of the informers about London and Middlesex by signifying his pleasure to the justices that they should withhold their encouragement from that unprincipled crew. Still, Friends were persecuted as popish recusants, particularly by the act of 23 Elizabeth, for twenty pounds a month, on account of absence from the national worship. Application being made to the king, he was pleased to grant a *nolle prosequi*, and gave orders to the attorney-general that no writs should be issued out of the exchequer against Friends on these accounts. Thus the ruin of great numbers of Friends was prevented, and their estates saved to the amount of many thousand pounds; a result which the labors and influence of William Penn were no doubt instrumental in producing.

The relief thus afforded may perhaps be considered as fairly included in the royal prerogative; but in the early part of 1687, the king issued a declaration of general indulgence, or liberty of conscience, by his sovereign authority and absolute power, to his subjects of all religions; ordering that thenceforth the execution of all penal laws concerning ecclesiastical affairs, for not coming to church, for not receiving the sacraments, or for any other non-

conformity with the established religion, or for performing religious worship in other ways, should be suspended.

This was certainly a stretch of the royal prerogative irreconcilable with the nature of a limited monarchy. Yet as the boon, so far as liberty of conscience was regarded, was nothing more than reason and justice required, the dissenters in general accepted it with gratitude. Addresses of thanks to the king were therefore presented from numerous quarters. Among others, Friends of the city of London presented one, and deputed William Penn, in conjunction with some others, to present it.

In his speech to the king, he said :

"I would not that any should think we come hither with design to fill the gazette with our thanks ; but as our sufferings would have moved stones to compassion, so we should be harder if we were not moved to gratitude."

The address of the Yearly Meeting having been read, the king replied :

"GENTLEMEN :—I thank you heartily for your address. Some of you know—I am sure you do, Mr. Penn—that it was always my principle that conscience ought not to be forced ; and that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences. What I have promised in my declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live. And I hope, before I die, to settle it so that after ages shall have no reason to alter it."

It has been made a subject of censure that Friends and other dissenters should offer their acknowledgments to the king for a favor which was dispensed by the violation of a constitutional principle. A few observations will be sufficient to vindicate the Society of Friends. Their principles

have always led them to live peaceably under the established governments, but to take no part in setting them up or pulling them down. They were not accustomed to scrutinize very closely the extent of the powers exercised by men in authority. The limits of the royal prerogative were at that time very imperfectly defined. Indeed, Sir Edward Herbert, Chief-justice of the King's Bench, had declared a few months before that there was nothing whatever with which the king, as supreme law-giver, might not dispense; and this decision was confirmed by eleven judges out of the twelve. It was not then to be expected that the exercise of this dispensing power would be disputed by those who were relieved by it from an oppressive burden. The penal laws, inasmuch as they abridged the freedom of worship, were justly considered as an usurpation of the Divine prerogative; the suspension of those laws, by royal authority alone, might therefore be viewed as counteracting usurpation. As the king had always professed himself a friend to liberty of conscience, and the measures of his government, so far as they were then developed, were not incompatible with such profession, Friends were at liberty to attribute his proclamation to justifiable motives. And they intimated in their address the necessity of a concurrent action by the Parliament, to render the measure permanent.

In the summer of 1687 William Penn again travelled, in the work of the Gospel, through various parts of England, and in the course of the journey held several meetings for worship at Bristol, where Friends had been so violently persecuted. These meetings were remarkably crowded, the people flocking to them in great numbers;

showing that their zeal was rather increased than diminished by the recent persecutions. At Chew, about five or six miles from Bristol, he had a meeting in the open air, there being no building to be had sufficiently capacious to accommodate the multitude that attended. "A large and heavenly meeting it was," says J. Whiting, "many Friends and others of the country round about being there; and the more, that it was the first time, as I remember, that William Penn was ever in our county."

Among the places he visited in Cheshire was Chester itself. The king being then on a journey, and arriving there at the time, attended the meeting, as he did at two or three other places where he happened to be when the meetings were held. Visiting Oxford in the course of his journey, he there met with the king again. James was then attempting to introduce into the presidentship of Magdalen College, Parker, a man of dissolute morals, and strongly suspected of popish principles. The members of the college, considering the interference of the king as an encroachment upon their rights, had elected a president whose character was more congenial to their principles. This brought on a contest between the king and the members of the college, in which the latter applied to William Penn for his interposition with the king. He had the courage and magnanimity to express, as modestly as the nature of the case would admit, yet in terms sufficiently explicit, his disapprobation of the measures the king was pursuing; and though he had endeavored to procure a repeal of the test act as well as the penal laws, he proved himself no friend to popish ascendancy. His remonstrance, however, did not arrest the proceedings of James, by

whose orders the fellows of the college were displaced, and Parker forcibly installed in the presidency.

In the same year, probably after his return from the journey just mentioned, he again took up his pen in the cause of liberty of conscience.

The freedom from persecution which Friends and other dissenters enjoyed, being founded upon the dispensing power of the king, was evidently held by a precarious tenure, as the proclamation might be revoked, as that of Charles II. had been. William Penn, therefore, with a view of promoting the good work of placing the religious liberties of the people upon a solid and permanent basis, produced a tract, entitled, "Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholics, and Protestant Dissenters. In which it is endeavored to be made appear that it is their duty, principle, and interest to abolish the penal laws and tests. *Beati Pacifici.*"

This tract was published without the author's name, as the "Persuasive to Moderation" had been, probably from an apprehension that the unjust odium under which he labored might prejudice the public against any production which was known to be his. It is classed in his printed works among his political tracts, but is decidedly of a religious rather than a political character, for the subject is argued on Christian principles.

He urges that it is the duty of the three classes to whom the work is addressed, to promote the abolition of the penal laws and tests, because they all profess the Christian religion, and Christianity requires us to believe that faith is the gift of God; that He only is Lord of conscience, and is able to enlighten, persuade, and establish it. Con-

sequently, to injure men in their persons or property, or to exclude them from stations of trust on account of their religion, is contrary to the tenderness and equity of Christianity. This is confirmed by the consideration that the Christian religion is founded in love. Its origin, progress, and consummation were all in love. Our Lord's rebuke to his disciples, who wished to call down fire from heaven to consume those who rejected Him, is applicable to all times and places. Christ commanded that the tares should be permitted to grow with the wheat until the harvest; so that He was in favor of a toleration, and his mandates are not to be modified by reasons of state. When the disciples related the circumstance of having found one casting out devils in their Master's name, whom they forbade, because he followed not with them, their decision was reversed by the Saviour himself, the great wisdom of God to his people, from whom there is no appeal.

Throughout this essay we perceive a constant effort to lead the people of that day in the path which their religious duty as well as civil interest pointed out, and to allay the jealousies which the conflict of parties had excited.

He says, in his concluding section: "Shall I speak within our own knowledge, and that without offence? There have been ruined since the late king's restoration above fifteen thousand families, and more than five thousand persons died under bonds, for matters of mere conscience to God. But who hath laid it to heart?"

In letters to James Harrison, written this year, he says: "A blessed general meeting we had, the Lord good among us, many of thy old friends at it. As yet I cannot get clear, for besides that I am not in my private

affairs fit to move for a stay, as that I intend when I come there. I am engaged in the public business of the nation, and Friends and others in authority would have me see the establishment of the liberty, that I was a small instrument to begin in this land. The Lord has given me great entrance and interest with the king, though not so much as 't is said, and I confess I should rejoice to see poor England fixt, the penal laws repealed that are now suspended, and if it goes well with England it cannot go ill with Pennsylvania. Perhaps thou wilt hear more from some passengers; but this I say, no temporal honor or profit can tempt me to decline poor Pennsylvania, as unkindly used as I am, and no poor slave in Turkey desires more earnestly, I believe, for deliverance, than I do to be with you; wherefore be contented awhile, and God in his time will bring us together.

"8th of Seventh month, '87. I am straitened, being just come home from the king's progress through Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Hampshire, and so home. I had two meetings on a First day at Chester, in the Tennis court, where were about a thousand people, while the king was there."

In the spring of 1688 the king renewed his declaration for liberty of conscience, with this addition, that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none into public employments but such as would concur with him in maintaining it. He also promised that he would hold a Parliament in the November following. This was what William Penn desired. He wished the king to continue firm to his purpose; but he knew that neither tests nor

penalties could be legally removed without the consent of Parliament.

At the time when this declaration was renewed, an order of council came out that it should be read in the churches within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the kingdom. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, presented a petition to the king in behalf of themselves and several other bishops, and a great body of the clergy, in which they laid before him the reasons why they had opposed the reading of the declaration in the churches, as the order in council had prescribed. They intended, they said, no disrespect to his majesty, nor did they breathe any spirit of hostility towards the dissenters; but the declaration being founded on a dispensing power, which had been declared illegal no less than three times in eight years, they could not become parties to it by giving it the extraordinary publicity required. The king having heard the petition, of which this was the substance, took time to deliberate upon it, after which the seven bishops were sent to the Tower. In process of time they were brought to trial, and they were acquitted among the plaudite of the nation.

William Penn was not only against this commitment, but the day the Prince of Wales was born he went to the king and pressed him exceedingly to set them at liberty; but after this event he became more unpopular than ever. It had transpired, probably by means of Burnet, that he had been employed by the king on the embassy to the Hague to obtain the Prince of Orange's consent not only to a toleration, but to the removal of tests. It had been suspected that he was the mover of the royal proclamation in 1686 and of the declaration in 1687. It had become

known that he was the author of "Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholics, and Protestant Dissenters." It was, therefore, now taken for granted that he had a hand in the imprisonment of the bishops, though he had never any concern, on any occasion, in the recommendation of force. The consequence was that he became very odious to the church. The dissenters, too, whose very cause he had been pleading, turned against him. Considering his intimacy with James the Second, they judged him to have the like projects and pursuits. Now it happened that the king had made this year a more open acknowledgment of popery than ever. He had permitted the Jesuits to erect a college in the Savoy in London, and suffered the friars to go publicly in the dress of their monastical orders, which was a strange sight to Protestants. He had permitted also the pope's Nuncio d'Ada to make his public entry into Windsor in great state. He was, therefore, most openly a Catholic. Hence they considered William Penn to be of the same religious persuasion. But they carried the matter still further; for, believing that the king, when he wished to establish a toleration and to abolish tests, had no other motive than that of protecting the Roman Catholic religion, and thus giving it an opportunity to flourish, they attached to William Penn the same motive in his furtherance and defence of the measure. The clamor, indeed, was so great against him, being spread both by dissenters and the church, that several, who had not the courage to go against the spirit of the times, avoided his acquaintance. Others, who were of a firmer texture, and who valued him from what they knew of his worth and character, did not follow the stream.

Among these, William Popple, Secretary to the Board of Trade and Plantations, an intimate friend both of Dr. Tillotson and John Locke, wrote to him :

“To the Honorable William Penn, Esq., Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania.”

“HONORED SIR:—Though the friendship with which you are pleased to honor me doth afford me sufficient opportunities of discoursing with you upon any subject, yet I choose rather at this time to offer unto you in writing some reflections which have occurred to my thoughts in a matter of no common importance.

“You are not ignorant that the part you have been supposed to have had of late years in public affairs, though without either the title, or honor, or profit of any public office, and that especially your avowed endeavors to introduce among us a general inviolable liberty of conscience in matters of mere religion, have occasioned the mistakes of some men, provoked the malice of others, and, in the end, have raised against you a multitude of enemies, who have unworthily defamed you with such imputations as, I am sure, you abhor. This I know you have been sufficiently informed of, though I doubt you have not made sufficient reflection upon it. The consciousness of your own innocence seems to me to have given you too great a contempt of such unjust and ill-grounded slanders; for, however glorious it is, and reasonable for a truly virtuous mind, whose inward peace is founded upon that rock of innocence, to despise the empty noise of popular reproach, yet even that sublimity of spirit may sometimes swell to a reprovable excess.

“The source of all arises from the ordinary access you have unto the king, the credit you are supposed to have with him, and the deep jealousy that some people have conceived of his intentions in reference to religion. Their jealousy is that his aim has been to settle popery in this nation, not only in a fair and secure liberty, but even in a predominating superiority over all other professions; and from hence the inference follows that whosoever has any part in the councils of this reign must needs be popishly affected; but that to have so great a part in them as you are said to have had, can happen to none but an absolute Papist. That is the direct charge; but that is not enough; your post is too considerable for a Papist of an ordinary form, and therefore you must be a Jesuit; nay, to confirm that suggestion it must be accompanied with all the circumstances that may best give it an air of probability; as, that you have been bred at St. Omer’s, in the Jesuit’s college; that you have taken orders at Rome, and there obtained a dispensation to marry; and that you have since then frequently officiated as a priest in the celebration of the Mass at Whitehall, St. James’s, and other places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to be cast upon you. Whatsoever is thought amiss, either in church or state, though never so contrary to your advice, is boldly attributed to it.

“It is not a trifling matter for a person raised as you are, above the common level, to lie under the prejudice of so general a mistake in so important a matter. The general and long prevalency of any opinion gives it a strength, especially among the vulgar, that is not easily shaken. The design of so universal a liberty of conscience

as your principles have led you to promote has offended many of those whose interest it is to cross it. I need not tell you how many and how powerful they are, nor can I tell you, either, how far or by what ways and means they may endeavor to execute their revenge. But this, however, I must needs tell you, that in your present circumstances there is sufficient ground for so much jealousy at least, as ought to excite you to use the precaution of some public vindication. This the tenderness of friendship prompts your friends to desire of you, and this the just sense of your honor, which true religion does not extinguish, requires you to execute.

“But what do I say, or what do I wish for? I confess that I am now struck with astonishment at that abundant evidence which I know you have constantly given of the opposition of your principles to those of the Romish church, and at the little regard there has been had to it.

“I could not but be much affected that any man who had deservedly acquired so fair a reputation as you have formerly had—whose integrity and veracity had always been reputed spotless, and whose charity had been continually exercised in serving others, at the dear expense of his time, his strength, and his estate, without any other recompense than what results from the consciousness of doing good—I say I could not but be much affected to see any such person fall innocently and undeservedly under such unjust reproaches as you have done.

“Since therefore it is so, and that something remains yet to be done—something more express and especially more public than has yet been done—for your vindication, I beg of you, dear sir by all the tender efficacy that friend-

ship, either mine or that of your friends and relations together, can have upon you, by the due regard which humanity, and even Christianity, obliges you to have to your reputation, by the duty you owe unto the king, by your love to the land of your nativity, and by the cause of universal religion and eternal truth, let not the scandal of insincerity that I have hinted at lie any longer upon you; but let the sense of all these obligations persuade you to gratify your friends and relations and to serve your king, your country, and your religion, by such a public vindication of your honor as your own prudence upon these suggestions will now show you to be most necessary and most expedient.

“I am, with unfeigned and most respectful affection, honored sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

WILLIAM POPPLE.”

William Penn was at Teddington, near London, when this letter reached him. It was dated the 20th of October, and on the 24th he answered it.

“WORTHY FRIEND:—It is now above twenty years, I thank God, that I have not been very solicitous what the world thought of me; for since I have had the knowledge of religion from a principle in myself, the first and main point with me has been to approve myself in the sight of God through patience and well-doing, so that the world has not had weight enough with me to suffer its good opinion to raise me or its ill opinion to deject me. And if that had been the only motive or consideration, and not the desire of a good friend in the name of many others,

I had been as silent to thy letter as I use to be to the idle and malicious shams of the times; but as the laws of friendship are sacred with those that value that relation, so I confess this to be a principal one with me, not to deny a friend the satisfaction he desires, when it may be done without offence to a good conscience.

“The business chiefly insisted upon is my popery, and endeavors to promote it. I do say then, and that with all sincerity, that I am not only no Jesuit, but no Papist, and, which is more, I never had any temptation upon me to be it, either from doubts in my own mind about the way I profess, or from the discourses or writings of any of that religion. And in the presence of Almighty God I do declare that the king did never once, directly or indirectly, attack me or tempt me upon that subject the many years that I have had the advantage of a free access to him—so unjust, as well as sordidly false, are all those stories of the town!

“The only reason that I can apprehend they have to repute me a Roman Catholic is my frequent going to Whitehall, a place no more forbid to me than to the rest of the world, who yet, it seems, find much fairer quarter. I have almost continually had one business or other there for our friends, whom I ever served with a steady solicitation through all times since I was of their communion. I had also a great many personal good offices to do, upon a principle of charity, for people of all persuasions, thinking it a duty to improve the little interest I had for the good of those that needed it, especially the poor. I might add something of my own affairs too, though I must own (if I may without vanity) that they have ever had the

least share of my thoughts or pains, or else they would not have still depended as they yet do.

“But because some people are so unjust as to render instances for my popery (or rather hypocrisy, for so it would be in me), ’t is fit I contradict them as particularly as they accuse me. I say then solemnly, that I am so far from having been bred at St. Omer’s and having received orders at Rome that I never was at either place, nor do I know anybody there, nor had I ever a correspondence with anybody in those places, which is another story invented against me. And as for my officiating in the king’s chapel, or any other, it is so ridiculous, as well as untrue, that, besides that nobody can do it but a priest, and that I have been married to a woman of some condition above sixteen years (which no priest can be by any dispensation whatever), I have not so much as looked into any chapel of the Roman religion, and consequently not the king’s, though a common curiosity warrants it daily to people of all persuasions.

“And, once for all, I do say that I am a Protestant dissenter, and to that degree such that I challenge the most celebrated Protestant of the English church, or any other on that head, be he layman or clergyman, in public or in private. For I would have such people know ’t is not impossible for a true Protestant dissenter to be dutiful, thankful, and serviceable to the king, though he be of the Roman Catholic communion. We hold not our property or protection from him by our persuasion, and therefore his persuasion should not be the measure of our allegiance. I am sorry to see so many that seem fond of the reformed religion, by their disaffection to him recommend it so ill.

Whatever practices of Roman Catholics we might reasonably object against (and no doubt but such there are), yet he has disclaimed and reprehended those ill things by his declared opinion against persecution, by the ease in which he actually indulges all dissenters, and by the confirmation he offers in Parliament for the security of the Protestant religion and liberty of conscience. And in his honor, as well as in my own defence, I am obliged in conscience to say that he has ever declared to me it was his opinion, and on all occasions when duke he never refused me the repeated proofs of it, as often as I had any poor sufferers for conscience' sake to solicit his help for.

“But some may be apt to say, ‘Why not anybody else as well as I? Why must I have the preferable access to other dissenters, if not a Papist?’ I answer, I know not that is so. But this I know, that I have made it my province and business; I have followed and prest it; I took it for my calling and station, and have kept it above these sixteen years; and, which is more (if I may say it without vanity or reproach), wholly at my own charges too. To this let me add the relation my father had to this king's service, his particular favor in getting me released out of the Tower of London in 1669, my father's humble request to him upon his death-bed to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles my persuasion might expose me to, and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it from the moment I addressed myself to him; I say, when all this is considered, anybody that has the least pretence to good-nature, gratitude, or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the king. Perhaps some will be ready to say, ‘This is not all, nor

is this yet a fault; but that I have been an adviser in other matters disgustful to the kingdom, and which tend to the overthrow of the Protestant religion and the liberties of the people.' A likely thing, indeed, that a Protestant dissenter, who from fifteen years old has been (at times) a sufferer in his father's family, in the University, and by the government for being so, should design the destruction of the Protestant religion! This is just as probable as it is true that I died a Jesuit six years ago in America. Will men still suffer such stuff to pass upon them? Is anything more foolish, as well as false, than that because I am often at Whitehall, therefore I must be the author of all that is done there that does not please abroad? But, supposing some such things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am bound to oppose anything that I am not called to do? I never was a member of council, cabinet, or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are transacted. I have had no office, or trust, and consequently nothing can be said to be done by me; nor, for that reason, could I lie under any test or obligation to discover my opinion of public acts of state; and, therefore, neither can any such acts, or my silence about them, in justice be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and ciphers in all governments. And unless calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occasions, or my not being turned out of nothing (for that no office is), be the evidence of my compliance in disagreeable things, I know not what else can, with any truth, be alleged against me. However, one thing I know, that I have everywhere most religiously observed, and endeavored in conversation with persons of all ranks and opinions, to allay heats and moderate

extremes, even in the politics. It is below me to be more particular; but I am sure it has been my endeavor, that if we could not all meet upon a religious bottom, at least we might upon a civil one, the good of England, which is the common interest of king and people; that he might be great by justice, and we free by obedience; distinguishing rightly, on the one hand, between duty and slavery, and, on the other, between liberty and licentiousness.

“But, alas, I am not without my apprehension of the cause of this behavior towards me, and in this I perceive we agree; I mean my constant zeal for an impartial liberty of conscience. But if that be it, the cause is too good to be in pain about. I ever understood that to be the natural right of all men; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was none of his own. For what is not the religion of a man’s choice is the religion of him that imposes it; so that liberty of conscience is the first step to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me. I have writ many apologies within the last twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as constantly declared that bounds ought to be set to this freedom, and that morality was the best; and that as often as that was violated, under a pretence of conscience, it was fit the civil power should take place. Nor did I ever think of promoting any sort of liberty of conscience for anybody which did not preserve the common Protestantcy of the kingdom and the ancient rights of the government; for, to say truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.

“Upon the whole matter, I must say, I love England,

I ever did so; and that I am not in her debt. I never valued time, money, or kindred, to serve her and do her good. No party could ever bias me to her prejudice, nor any personal interest oblige me in her wrong; for I always abhorred discounting private favors at the public cost.

“Would I have made my market of the fears and jealousies of the people, when this king came to the crown, I had put twenty thousand pounds into my pocket, and an hundred thousand into my province; for mighty numbers of people were then upon the wing; but I waived it all; hoped for better times; expected the effects of the king’s word for liberty of conscience, and happiness by it; and till I saw my Friends, with the kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage which penal laws for religion had subjected them to, I could with no satisfaction think of leaving England, though much to my prejudice beyond sea, and at my great expense here, having in all this time never had either office or pension, and always refusing the rewards or gratuities of those I have been able to oblige.

“If, therefore, an universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as we would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit, or Papist of any rank, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it too; and I care not who knows, that I can wear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them with any justice to give it me. For these are corner-stones and principles with me; and I am scandalized at

all buildings which have them not for their foundations. For religion itself is an empty name without them, a whited wall, a painted sepulchre, no life or virtue to the soul, no good or example to one's neighbor. Let us not flatter ourselves; we can never be the better for our religion, if our neighbor be the worse for it. Our fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon speculative errors, and break all bounds in our resentments; but we let practical ones pass without remark, if not without repentance; as if a mistake about an obscure proposition of faith were a greater evil than the breach of an undoubted precept. Such a religion the devils themselves are not without; for they have both faith and knowledge; but their faith doth not work by love, nor their knowledge by obedience. And if this be their judgment, can it be our blessing? Let us not then think religion a litigious thing, nor that Christ came only to make us good disputants, but that He came also to make us good livers; sincerity goes further than capacity. It is charity that deservedly excels in the Christian religion; and happy would it be if, where unity ends, charity did begin, instead of envy and railing, that almost ever follow. It appears to me to be the way that God has found out and appointed to moderate our differences, and make them at least harmless to society; and, therefore, I confess I dare not aggravate them to wrath and blood. Our disagreement lies in our apprehension or belief of things; and if the common enemy of mankind had rot the governing of our affections and passions, that disagreement would not prove such a canker, as it is, to love and peace in civil societies.

“He that suffers his difference with his neighbor about

the other world to carry him beyond the line of moderation in this, is the worse for his opinion, even though it be true.

“What sort of Christians must they be, I pray, that can hate in his name who bids us love, and kill for his sake, that forbids killing and commands love, even to enemies?

“Though people say to God, Thy will be done, they do their own; which shows them to be true heathens, under a mask of Christianity, that believe without works, and repent without forsaking; busy for forms and the temporal benefits of them; while true religion, which is to visit the fatherless and the widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world, goes barefoot, and, like Lazarus, is despised. Yet this was the definition the Holy Ghost gave of religion before synods and councils had the meddling with it and modelling of it.

“In no age or time was there more need to set men at work in their own hearts than this we live in, when so busy, wandering, licentious a spirit prevails; for, whatever some men may think, the disease of this kingdom is sin, impiety against God, and want of charity to men. And while this guilt is at our door, judgment cannot be far off.

“Now this being the disease, I will briefly offer two things for the cure of it.

“The first is David’s clean heart and right spirit, which he asked and had of God: without this we must be a chaos still; for the distemper is within, and our Lord said, all evil comes from thence. Set the inward man right, and the outward man cannot be wrong; that is the helm that

governs the human vessel; and this nothing can do but an inward principle, the light and grace that came by Christ, which, the Scriptures tell us, enlightens every one, and hath appeared to all men. He that gave us an outward luminary for our bodies, hath given us an inward one for our minds to act by. We have it, and it is our condemnation that we do not love it, and bring our deeds to it. 'Tis by this we see our sins, are made sensible of them, sorry for them, and finally forsake them. And he that thinks to go to heaven a nearer way, will, I fear, be late his soul, and be irrevocably mistaken. There are but goats and sheep at last, whatever shapes we wear here. Let us not therefore, dear friend, deceive ourselves. Our souls are at stake; God will not be mocked; what we sow we must expect to reap. To sum up this divinity of mine, it is the light of Jesus in our souls that gives us a true sight of ourselves, and that sight that leads us to repentance; which repentance begets humility, and humility that true charity that covers a multitude of faults, which I call God's expedient against man's infirmity.

“The second remedy to our present distemper is this: Since all of all parties profess to believe in God, Christ, the Spirit, and Scripture; that the soul is immortal; that there are eternal rewards and punishments; and that the virtuous shall receive the one, and the wicked suffer the other; I say, since this is the common faith of Christendom, let us all resolve in the strength of God to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out so miserably about the rest in which we differ. I am persuaded the change and comfort which that pious course would bring us to, would go very far to dispose our natures to compound easily for

all the rest, and we might hope yet to see happy days in poor England, for there I would have so good a work begun. And how it is possible for the eminent men of every religious persuasion (especially the present ministers of the parishes of England) to think of giving an account to God at the last day, without using the utmost of their endeavors to moderate the members of their respective communions towards those that differ from them, is a mystery to me. But this I know, and must lay it at their doors; I charge also my own soul with it; God requires moderation and humility from us; for He is at hand who will not spare to judge our impatience, if we have no patience for one another. The eternal God rebuke (I beseech Him) the wrath of man, and humble all under the sense of the evil of this day; and yet (unworthy as we are) give us peace for his holy name's sake.

“It is now time to end this letter, and I will now do it without saying any more than this: Thou seest my defence against popular calumny; thou seest what my thoughts are of our condition, and the way to better it; and thou seest my hearty and humble prayer to Almighty God to incline us to be wise, if it were but for our own sakes. I shall only add that I am extremely sensible of the kindness and justice intended me by my friends on this occasion, and that I am for that and many more reasons,

“Thy obliged and affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

In about a fortnight after the writing of this letter, the nation being in a ferment on account of the arbitrary proceedings of James II., William Prince of Orange landed

at Torbay. He was received there with open arms as well as afterwards by the country at large. Officers and men, abandoning their former banners, deserted to serve under him. The national discontent indeed was such that James found it necessary to leave the kingdom and to retire to France. In process of time, as is well known, the Prince of Orange and his consort were advanced to the sovereignty of the realm.

William Penn lost, by the flight of the king, one who, with all his political failings, had been his firm friend. He was left exposed to the popular indignation as a Papist and Jesuit, and as one who had aimed to establish popery and arbitrary power in the kingdom. To return to America, though she presented to him a peaceful asylum, would have led persons to conclude that he had been guilty of what had been laid to his charge. Conscious of his own innocence, he resolved to remain where he was, following those occupations by which he thought he could best promote the good of his fellow-creatures.

But it was not long after this determination before he felt the effect of the political change which had taken place; for on the 10th of Twelfth month, walking in Whitehall, he was sent for by the Lords of the Council, who were then sitting. Here he underwent an examination. In reply to some questions which were put to him, he protested that "he had done nothing but what he could answer before God and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and had never acted against either; that all he had ever aimed at in his public endeavors was no other than what the prince himself had declared for; that King

James had always been his friend and his father's friend ; and that in gratitude he himself was the king's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest." Notwithstanding this manly and open declaration, and that nothing appeared against him, the council obliged him to give security for his appearance the first day of the next term.

XVIII.

WHILE William Penn was in England, the want of his presence in Pennsylvania was felt and lamented by the inhabitants there. The burden of government had rested principally upon Thomas Lloyd, a valuable member and minister of the Society of Friends; but as he was desirous of being released from the care and responsibility of his public station, William Penn reluctantly granted his request, and nominated Captain John Blackwell as his deputy. In his letter to his friends in Pennsylvania, he says: "For your ease, I have appointed one that is not a Friend, but a grave, sober, wise man, to be Governor in my absence. He married old General Lambert's daughter, was treasurer to the Commonwealth's army in England, Scotland, and Ireland: I suppose independent in judgment. Let him see what he can do awhile. I have ordered him to confer in private with you, and square himself by your advice. If he do not please you, he shall be laid aside. I desire you to receive him with kindness, and let him see it, and use his not being a Friend to Friends' advantage. He has a mighty repute of all sorts of honest people where he has inhabited, which, with my knowledge, has made me venture upon him. I have rough people to deal with about my quit-rents, that yet cannot pay a ten-pound bill, but draw, draw, draw, still upon me. And it being his talent (Blackwell's) to

regulate and set things in method, easy and just, I have pitched upon him to advise therein."

Among the instructions accompanying the commission sent to this officer are the following: "That the widow, orphan, and absent may be particularly regarded in their rights, for their cry will be loudest in all ears; but by absent, I mean such as are so of necessity. To have a special care that sheriffs and clerks of the peace impose not upon the people, and that the magistrates live peaceably and soberly, for I could not endure one loose or litigious person in authority. Let them be men having some fear of God, and hating covetousness, whatever be their persuasion; to employ others is to profane an ordinance of God. Rule the meek meekly, and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority, and God Almighty prosper all honest and prudent endeavors."

The appointment of Deputy-Governor Blackwell did not answer the expectations of the Proprietary. He did not harmonize with the inhabitants there, and William Penn was induced in a short time to revoke his commission.

While under bail for his appearance before the council, William Penn wrote to Friends in Pennsylvania:

"MY DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:—If it be with you as I can say it is with me, in the presence of God, then are we one in Him, for neither length of days, nor distance of place, nor all the many waters between us, can separate my heart and affection from you. . . .

"Great revolutions have been of late in this land of your nativity, and where they may period the Lord knows. It can be no new thing for us to meet with exercises.

Europe looks like a sea of trouble—wars all over it like to be this summer. I strongly desire to see you before it be spent, if the Lord will; and I can say in his sight, that to improve my interest with King James for tender consciences, and that a Christian liberty might be legally settled, though against my own interest, was that which separated me from you chiefly. I desire your remembrance before the Lord; as you are not, and cannot be, forgotten in my addresses and approaches to Him, who rest in his unchangeable love, dear friends and brethren, yours unalterably, in the communion of the blessed truth,

WILLIAM PENN.

“The 2d of the First month, 1689.”

When William Penn's case was finally brought before court he was cleared, there being no charge against him.

After the retirement of Governor Blackwell, Thomas Lloyd again consented to act as president of the council, the executive duties having now reverted to it. William Penn at this time wrote to them:

“LONDON, 12th of Sixth month, 1689.

“FRIENDS:—I heartily wish you all well, and beseech God to guide you in the ways of righteousness and peace. I have thought fit, upon my further stop in these parts, to throw all into your hands, that you may all see the confidence I have in you, and the desire I have to give you all possible contentment. I do earnestly press your constant attendance upon the government, and the diligent pursuit of peace and virtue; and God Almighty strengthen your hands in so good a work. I also recommend to you the

particular discipline of that town you meet in; that sobriety and gravity be maintained, and authority kept in respect. As it comes in your way, countenance my officers in collecting my small revenue. Whatever you do, I desire, beseech, and charge you all to avoid factions and parties, whisperings and reportings, and all animosities; that putting your common shoulders to the public work, you may have the reward of good men and patriots, and so I bid you farewell.

WILLIAM PENN."

He afterwards wrote to the Provincial Council:

"HAMMERSMITH, the 30th of the Tenth month, 1689.

"DEAR FRIENDS:—I cannot slip this opportunity, but send you the endeared salutations of my love, that, in the truth, gives me frequent occasion to remember you, and earnestly desire your preservation to God, as well as your comfort and prosperity in outward things. About which have a care, that they grow not too fast upon you, nor too many for you—I mean as to the care and concerns that attend them in the exercise of your spirits; for it is a blessed state to enjoy and use of the world, in the dominion of his life and power, that has quickened us by his light and spirit a people to himself, for in this stands all our peace and blessedness, that God be eyed in the first place, that we set Him on our right hand, that we set Him continually before our eyes, and that our eye be directed towards Him in all things, as the eye of a handmaid to her mistress, that we may be able to say in truth and righteousness, we have none in heaven but Him, nor any

on earth besides Him. This it is that keeps God's people everywhere; for hereby they put on Christ in all his blessed teachings and leadings, and make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof. Friends, these are deep words and deeper things. And now, Friends, I have a word more to you, and that is this: that faith, hope, and charity are the great helps and marks of true Christians; but above all charity is the love of God or divine love. It will preserve peace in the church, peace in the State, peace in families, aye, and peace in particular bosoms. God Almighty draw, I beseech Him, all your hearts into this heavenly love more and more, that the work of it may shine out to God's glory and your comfort. For matters here, as to myself, I am well and free; and for the church of God liberty continues. But in the nations of Europe great wars and rumors of war, such as have not been, almost from the beginning; suns are turned into darkness and moons into blood, for the notable day is at the door. It could [not] be borne from some of you when you went for America, that such a day would come; but come and coming it is, for almost every eye sees it and tongue says it, and some thousands, alas! have already felt it. Sanctify, therefore, the Lord* in your hearts; be satisfied in Him and in your lot, and walk worthy of his daily mercy and attendance upon you and care over you. And the Lord keep you to the end.

“I am, in the truth that makes us near to God and one to another, your faithful friend and brother,

WILLIAM PENN.”

XIX.

WILLIAM PENN, though he saw no disposition either in the king or in the Parliament to amend the toleration act, so as to bring it nearer to his own wishes, had yet the pleasure to find that it had at least become so popular, except among some of the clergy, that it was likely to maintain its ground. He resolved, therefore, to embark for Pennsylvania in the course of the present year.

He had been in the habit of writing to the Duke of Buckingham, who was then deceased. A friend of his had fallen in with some of his letters, and was then collecting them, with a view of preventing them from passing into improper hands; for he supposed, probably, that they might contain political matter; and as William Penn was then daily watched by the new government as a person suspected to be hostile to it, there might be expressions in them which might afford his enemies a handle for putting him to trouble. He wrote to this friend:

“Being informed by Jer. Grimshaw that some of my letters to the late Duke of Buckingham are in thy hands, and that thy wonted kindness to all of our communion had shown itself in my regard by collecting them apart, to prevent their falling under any improper notice, I thought myself obliged, both to return my acknowledgments for that friendly caution, and to desire thee to let them follow

him they were written to, who can be no more known to the living. Poor gentleman! I need not trust another hand than that which was unwilling any other should be trusted with them but my own. I know not what the circumstances of that time might draw from me; but my only business with him ever was to make his superior quality and sense useful to this kingdom, that he might not die under the guilt of misspending the greatest talents that were among the nobility of any country. However, in the rubbish of those times, and the late extraordinary revolution, let them lie; and let us all think of this only way to the peace and happiness we pretend to seek, namely, to give God his due out of us, and then we shall have our dues out of one another; and without it, let us not wonder at the nimble turns of the world, nor reflect upon the mischiefs that attend them. Things do not change. Causes and effects are ever the same; and they that seek to overrule the eternal order, fight with the winds and overthrow themselves. But what is this to my subject? I close with the true sense of all thy tenderness to our poor folks, and regards to myself, beseeching God that more than the reward of him that gives a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple may be thy portion, when this very trifling world may be no more.

“I am thy affectionate, true Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

Soon after the writing of this letter, and while he was turning his thoughts towards the things to be done preparatory to his voyage, he was arrested by a body of military, and brought again before the lords of the council

The charge then against him was that he was holding a traitorous correspondence with the late king, who was then in France. Upon this, he desired to appeal to King William in person. His request was granted. The king and council appeared together. A letter was then produced which had been written to him by James, and which had been intercepted by government on its way, in which he (James) "desired him (Penn) to come to his assistance, and to express to him the resentments of his favor and benevolence." The question first put to William Penn was why King James wrote to him? He answered that it was impossible for him to prevent the king from writing to him if he (the king) chose it. He was then questioned as to what resentments these were which James seemed to desire of him. He answered, "he knew not; but he supposed the king meant that he should endeavor his restoration. Though, however, he could not avoid the suspicion of such an attempt, he could avoid the guilt of it. He confessed he had loved King James, and, as he had loved him in his prosperity, he could not hate him in his adversity; yes; he loved him yet for the many favors he had conferred on him, though he could not join with him in what concerned the state of the kingdom. He owned again that he had been much obliged to the king, and that he was willing to repay his kindness by any private service in his power; but that he must observe inviolably and entirely that duty to the State which belonged to all the subjects of it; and therefore that he had never had the wickedness even to think of endeavoring to restore him that crown which had fallen from his head; so that nothing in that letter could in any wise fix

guilt upon him." This defence, which was at once manly, open, and explicit, had its weight with the king, so that he felt himself inclined to dismiss him as an innocent person; but some of the council interfering, he, to please them, ordered him to give bail to appear at the next Trinity term. After this he was permitted to withdraw, and to go at large as before.

At the time appointed he appeared in court; but here, as before, no one coming forward as evidence against him, he was honorably discharged.

Being once more at liberty he returned to his home, and his voyage occupied his attention again. At this time the country was in great consternation on account of an expected invasion by the French. The French fleet had already beaten the English in conjunction with the Dutch, and was then hovering off the coast. King William, too, was in Ireland. The queen therefore was obliged to exert herself in defence of the nation. This she did by calling out the militia and in other ways; but in order to strike terror at this moment into the supposed conspirators with France, she published a proclamation for apprehending about twenty persons, mostly noblemen, and including William Penn. The proclamation was not out long before he was again apprehended and sent to prison. He was obliged to lie there till the last day of Michaelmas term, when he was brought up before the King's Bench Court, Westminster, for trial. The result was equally honorable as in the former cases; for, though evidence appeared, it failed to prove anything against him.

Just at this time he attended at the death-bed of his loved and honored friend George Fox. It fell to his lot

to communicate this event to his wife, who was then in Lancashire. His letter was very short. "I am to be," says he, "the teller to thee of sorrowful tidings in some respect, which is this, that thy dear husband and my beloved and dear friend finished his glorious testimony this night about half an hour after nine, being sensible to the last breath. Oh, he is gone, and has left us in the storm that is over our heads, surely in great mercy to him, but as an evidence to us of sorrows to come!" In alluding to his powers as a minister of the Gospel he says, "A prince indeed is fallen in Israel to-day;" and to his irreproachable life, "He died as he lived, a lamb, minding the things of God and his church to the last, in an universal spirit." After this, when the time came, he attended his remains to the grave. Here he spoke publicly, and for a considerable time, to about two thousand persons who attended the funeral.

A day or two before the funeral of George Fox, an infamous character of the name of Fuller, one whom Parliament afterwards declared a cheat and an impostor, had come forward with an accusation against him upon oath, so that messengers had been sent to the very funeral itself with a warrant to apprehend him; but, mistaking the hour, they arrived too late for their purpose. Unable now to leave the kingdom with honor, the vessels proceeded without him to Pennsylvania.

William Penn had hitherto defended himself before the king and council, and established his innocence to general satisfaction. But the prosecution which now awaited him seems to have assumed a more threatening aspect than any preceding one. His biographers have not given a very

clear account of the specific charge which was preferred against him. It appears to have been a participation with others in a conspiracy for the restoration of James. This plot was principally charged upon the Roman Catholics, and William Penn was, in the idle rumors of the day, ranked with the adherents to the Popish faith. There was therefore reason to apprehend that the general odium resting upon the professors of that religion would be brought to bear upon this prosecution. The trials and executions upon the pretended disclosures of Oates and Bedloe must have been fresh in his memory. Under these circumstances William Penn judged it most prudent to remain for a time in retirement. He accordingly appeared but little in public for two or three years.

There seems no doubt that, as his private residence at London could have easily been known, the king and queen had no desire to bring him to trial, believing his innocence; but that his name had been included in the warrant by some of the king's advisers for the sake of the effect on the public mind.

From the place of his seclusion he sent the following letter to the Yearly Meeting of Friends:

"Third month 30th, 1691.

"MY BELOVED, DEAR, AND HONORED BRETHREN:—My unchangeable love salutes you, and though I am absent from you, I feel the sweet and lowly life of your heavenly fellowship, by which I am with you, and a partaker amongst you, whom I have loved above my chiefest joy. Receive no evil surmisings; neither suffer hard thoughts, through the insinuations of any, to enter your minds

against me, your afflicted, but not forsaken, friend and brother. My enemies are yours, and, in the ground, mine for your sakes; and that God seeth in secret, and will one day reward openly. My privacy is not because men have sworn truly, but falsely, against me; 'for wicked men have laid in wait for me, and false witnesses have laid to my charge things that I knew not;' who have never sought myself, but the good of all, through great exercises; and have done some good, and would have done more, and hurt no man; but always desired that truth and righteousness, mercy, and peace, might take place amongst us. Feel me near you, and lay me near you, my dear and beloved brethren, and leave me not, neither forsake, but wrestle with Him that is able to prevail against the cruel desires of some; that we may yet meet in the congregations of his people, as in days past, to our mutual comfort. The everlasting God of his chosen, in all generations, be in the midst of you, and crown your most solemn assemblies with his blessed presence, that his tender, meek, lowly, and heavenly love and life, may flow among you, and that He would please to make it a seasoning and fruitful opportunity to you, desiring to be remembered of you before Him, in the nearest and freshest accesses, who cannot forget you in the nearest relation.

“Your faithful friend and brother,

WILLIAM PENN.”

Soon after he wrote to Thomas Lloyd, President of the Council in Pennsylvania.

“LONDON, 14th of Fourth month, 1691.

“DEAR FRIEND:—My love in the unchangeable truth salutes thee and thine, and the friends and family of God, in those parts, desiring your temporal and everlasting welfare, with an unfeigned affection.

“By this time thou wilt have heard of the renewal of my troubles, the only let of my return, being in the midst of my preparations, with a great company of adventurers, when they fell upon me. The jealousies of some, and unworthy dealing of others, have made way for them; but under and over it all the ancient rock has been my shelter and comfort; and I hope yet to see your faces, with our ancient satisfactions. The Lord grant, if it be for his glory, whose I desire to be, in all conditions; for this world passeth away and the form and beauty of it fadeth; but there are eternal habitations for the faithful; amongst whom I pray that my lot may be, rather than amongst the princes of the earth. I hope I need not urge my circumstances to excite thy love, care, and concern for me and my suffering interest in the country. I know thou hast better learned Christ and Cato, if I may so say, and wilt embrace such an opportunity to choose to express thy friendship and sincerity. By all this God may prepare me to be fitter for future service even to you there. I ask the people forgiveness for my long stay; but when I consider how much it has been my great loss, and for an ungrateful generation, it is punishment! It has been £20,000 to my damage in the country, and above £10,000 here, and to the province five hundred families; but the wise God that can do what He pleases, as well as see what is in man's heart, is able to requite all; and I am persuaded

all shall yet work together for good in this very thing, if we can overlook all that stands in the way of our views, Godward, in public matters. See that all be done prudently and humbly, and keep down irreverence and looseness, and cherish industry and sobriety.

“Thou hast heard of our great loss of dear John Burnyeat, and Robert Lodges, one in Ireland, and t’other in England, in about the same week; and Robert Barclay, Th. Salthouse, and dearly beloved George Fox, since. He died at Henry Goulney’s, by Gracious Street meeting-house, where he preached his farewell the First day, and departed the Third, at night, between nine and ten. I was with him; he earnestly recommended to me his love to you all, and said, ‘William, mind poor Friends in America.’ He died triumphantly over death; very easily foresaw his change. He was got into his inn, before the storm that is coming overtook him, and that night, very providentially, I escaped the messenger’s hands. I shall add only, that Friends have had an extraordinary time this General Meeting, so that God supplied that visible loss with his glorious presence.”

XX.

WILLIAM PENN did not permit the time of his seclusion to pass unemployed, but produced several valuable tracts. One of them is entitled

“A KEY, OPENING THE WAY TO EVERY CAPACITY HOW TO DISTINGUISH THE RELIGION PROFESSED BY THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS FROM THE PERVERSIONS AND MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THEIR ADVERSARIES.”

The following passages are taken from it.

READER :—Observing the prevailing power of prejudice, we have the less wondered at the hard treatment which we, as a people, have suffered from other persuasions. The credulous have been excited to look upon and treat us as heretics, seducers, blasphemers, and what not, while, blessed be God, our aim and bent have been the very power and work of religion upon our souls, that we might be God’s workmanship, through Christ Jesus his blessed Son and heavenly agent; taking this to be the very life and soul of true religion, the effect and fruit of the Divine nature, which makes us Christians indeed here and fits us for glory hereafter. It will be the business of this little key to open a way to so clear and plain an understanding of our true principles, distinguished from our enemies’ perversions, that we hope, with God’s blessing, all impartial

inquirers will be satisfied of our holy and Christian profession.

Perversion. The Quakers hold that the natural light in the conscience of every man in the world is sufficient to save all that follow it, and so they overthrow salvation by Christ.

A mighty error indeed, if it were true.

Principle. But it is at best a great mistake. For their belief and assertion is, that Christ, who is the Word that was with God, and was God, and is so forever, hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world with his own light. And that such as follow the reproofs, convictions, and leadings of that light, with which He enlightens the understandings and consciences of men, shall not walk in darkness, that is, in evil and ignorance of God, but shall have the light of life, that is, be in a holy and living state or condition towards God—a state of acceptance and salvation, which is from sin here as well as from wrath hereafter, for which end Christ was given of God. So that they assert the light of Christ to be sufficient to save, that is, to convince of sin, lead out of it, and quicken the soul in the ways of holiness, and not to be a natural light; but as all men born into the world have a measure of Christ's light, so it may, in a sense, be said to be natural to all men, because all men who come into the world have it. This light is something else than the bare understanding man hath as a rational creature; since, as such, man cannot be a light to himself, but has only a capacity of seeing by means of the light with which Christ, the Word, enlighteneth him. But as the sun in the firmament is the light of our bodies, so the light of the

Divine Word is the sun of our souls—the glorious luminary of the intellectual world; and they that walk in it will by it be led to blessedness.

Perversion. The Quakers hold that the light within them is God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit; so that every Quaker has whole God, Christ, and Holy Spirit in him, which is gross blasphemy.

Principle. This is also a mistake of their belief. They never said that every Divine illumination, or manifestation of Christ in the hearts of men, was whole God, Christ, or the Spirit, which might render them guilty of that gross and blasphemous absurdity some would fasten upon them. But that God, who is light, or the Word Christ, who is light, styled the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and the quickening Spirit, who is God over all, blessed forever, hath enlightened mankind with a measure of saving light; who said, I am the Light of the world; and they that follow me shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life. So that the illumination is from God, or Christ the Divine Word; but not, therefore, that whole God or Christ is in every man, any more than the whole sun or air is in every house or chamber.

Yet in a sense the Scriptures say it, and that is their sense, in which only they say the same thing. I will walk in them and dwell in them. He that dwelleth with you shall be in you. I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you. I in them and they in me. Christ in us the hope of glory. Unless Christ be in you, ye are reprobates.

Perversion. By the Quaker's doctrine every man must be saved, for every man, they say, is savingly enlightened.

Principle. Not so either. For though the light or grace of God hath and doth, more or less, appear to all men, and brings salvation to as many as are taught by it to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world, as the Scripture teacheth, yet it no way follows that men must obey and learn so to do whether they will or not. God tenders saving light or grace to all, and by it calls all, and strives and pleads with all, according to the measure and manifestation of it; but if they will not hearken to it, He is clear of their blood.

Perversion. By the Quakers' Light or Spirit they may be moved to murder, treason, theft, or any such like wickedness, because they say that such as are so led have the light within them.

Principle. This never was their doctrine, nor is it consequent of it. For though they hold that all have light, they never said that all obeyed it, or that evil men, as such, or in such things, were led by it. For herein they know the Spirit of God and the motions of it from the spirit of this world and its fruits—that the Spirit of God condemns all ungodliness, and moves and inclines to purity, mercy, and righteousness, which are of God.

They deny and abominate that loose and ranting mind which would charge the Spirit of God with their unholy liberty. God's Spirit makes people free from sin, and not to commit sin. Man's sin and destruction are of himself; but his help is in God alone, through Jesus Christ, our blessed sacrifice and sanctifier.

Perversion. The Quakers must all be infallible and perfect, if they have such an infallible light in them.

Principle. No such matter. This is also a great abuse of their true meaning. They say the spirit of Truth is pure, perfect, unerrable in itself, or else it were very unfit to lead men out of error and impurity. But they never did assert themselves such, merely because it was within them, by no means. But that all who are led by it, and live according to its manifestation, are so far perfect, and so far infallible in the right way as they are led by it, and not a jot farther. And let it be noted that though this Spirit be in man, yet it is not of man, but of God, through Jesus Christ.

Perversion. The Quakers deny the Scriptures, for they deny them to be the Word of God.

Principle. They own and style the Scriptures as they own and style themselves, viz., a declaration of those things most truly believed, given forth in former ages by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; consequently, that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. They are the form of sound words. We profess to believe them and read them, and say it is the work we have to do in this world, and the earnest desire of our souls to Almighty God that we may feel and witness the fulfilling of them in and upon ourselves; that so God's will may be done in earth as it is in heaven. But to call them the Word of God, the ground of the charge, which they never call themselves, but by which they peculiarly denominate and call Christ, in reference to Christ and in no slight to them,

(which we believe to be of Divine authority, and embrace as the best of books, and allow to be as much the Word of God as a book can be,) they do, as in duty and reason bound, attribute that title to Christ only.

And yet, as the word of God may, in some sense, signify the command of God, referring to the thing or matter commanded as the mind of God, it may be called the Word of the Lord, or Word of God; as, on particular occasions, the prophets had the Word of the Lord to persons and places, that is to say, the mind or will of God, or that which was commanded them of the Lord to declare or do. So Christ uses it when He tells the Pharisees that they had made the word (or command) of God of none effect by their traditions. But because people are so apt to think if they have the Scriptures they have all (for that they account them the only word of God, and so look no farther, that is, to no other Word, from whence those good words came), therefore this people have been constrained, and, they believe, by God's good Spirit, once and again to point them to the great Word of words, Christ Jesus, in whom is life, and that life the light of men; that they might feel something nearer to them than the Scriptures, to wit, the Word in the heart, from whence all Holy Scripture came, which is Christ within them the hope of their glory. And to be sure He is the only right expounder, as well as the author, of Holy Scripture, without whose light, spirit, or grace they cannot be savingly read by those that read them.

God hath made use of the Scriptures, and daily doth and will make use of them, for instruction, reproof, comfort, and edification, through the Spirit, to those that read

them as they ought to do. Thus they say they have felt them, and so they have been and are made unto them, and wish heartily they were more in request with the professors of Christianity.

Perversion. The Quakers assert the Spirit of God to be the immediate teacher, and that there is no other means now to be used, as ministry, ordinances, etc.

Principle. They never denied the use of means, but to this day, from the beginning, they have been in the practice of them. But then they are such means as are used in the life and power of God. They cannot own that to be a Gospel ministry that is without a Gospel Spirit, or that such can be sent of God who are not taught of God, or that they are fit to teach others what regeneration and the way to heaven are who have never been born again themselves; or that such can bring souls to God who are themselves strangers (like those in the Acts xix. 21) to the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost.

This unexperienced and lifeless ministry is the only ministry, and such the only ministers that the people called Quakers cannot own and receive, and therefore cannot maintain. For the ministry and the ministers that are according to Scripture, they both own, respect, and delight in, and are ready to assist and support in their service for God.

Perversion. The Quakers deny the Trinity.

Principle. Nothing less: they believe in the holy three, or Trinity of Father, Word and Spirit, according to Scripture. And that these three are truly and properly one; of one nature as well as will. But they are very tender of quitting Scripture terms and phrases for schoolmen's, such as

distinct and separate persons and subsistences, etc., are ; from whence people are apt to entertain gross ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And they judge that a curious inquiry into those high and divine revelations, or into speculative subjects, though never so great truths in themselves, tend little to godliness and less to peace, which should be the chief aim of true Christians. Therefore they cannot gratify that curiosity in themselves or others. Speculative truths are, in their judgment, to be sparingly and tenderly declared, and never to be made the measure and condition of Christian communion. For besides that Christ Jesus hath taught them other things, the sad consequence, in all times, of superfining upon Scripture texts, do sufficiently caution and forbid them.

Perversion. The Quakers deny Christ to be God.

Principle. A most untrue and unreasonable censure, for their great and characteristic principle being this, that Christ, as the Divine Word, lighteth the souls of all men that come into the world, with a spiritual and saving light, according to John i. 9, viii. 12, which nothing but the Creator of souls can do, it sufficiently shows that they believe Him to be God, for they truly and expressly own Him to be so, according to Scripture, viz. : "In Him was Life, and that Life the light of men ; and He is God over all, blessed forever."

Perversion. The Quakers deny the human nature of Christ.

Principle. We never taught, said, or held so gross a thing, if by human nature be understood the manhood of Christ Jesus. For as we believe Him to be God over all, blessed forever, so we do as truly believe Him to be of the

seed of Abraham and David after the flesh, and therefore truly and properly man, like us in all things, and once subject to all things for our sakes, sin only excepted.

Perversion. The Quakers expect to be justified and saved by the Light within them, and not by the death and sufferings of Christ.

Principle. This is both unfairly and untruly stated and charged upon us. But the various senses of the word justification, oblige me here to distinguish the use of it, for in the natural and proper sense it plainly implies making men just who were unjust, godly that were ungodly, upright that were depraved; as the apostle expresseth himself, 1 Cor. vi. 11, "And such were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." In the other use of the word, which some call a law-sense, it refers to Christ as a sacrifice and propitiation for sin, as in Rom. v. 9, "Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him;" and 1 John ii. 1, 2, "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." Which, though a great truth and most firmly believed by us, yet no man can be entitled to the benefit thereof, but as he comes to believe and repent of the evil of his ways, and then it may be truly said that God justifieth even the ungodly, and looks upon them through Christ, as if they had never sinned, because their sins are forgiven them for his beloved Son's sake.

Not that God looks on people to be in Christ, who are

not in Christ, that is, who are not in the faith, obedience and self-denial of Christ, nor sanctified, nor led by his Spirit, but rebel against it, and instead of dying to sin through a true and unfeigned repentance, live and indulge themselves daily in it; for they that are in Christ become new creatures, old things are passed away, and all things with them become new. Wherefore, we say, that whatever Christ then did, both living and dying, was of great benefit to the salvation of all who have believed, and now do, and who hereafter shall believe in Him unto justification and acceptance with God. But the way to come to that faith is to receive and obey the manifestation of his Divine light and grace in their consciences, which leads men to believe and value, and not to disown or undervalue Christ, as the common sacrifice and mediator. For we do affirm, that to follow this holy Light in the conscience, and to turn our minds and bring all our deeds and thoughts to it, is the readiest, nay, the only right way to have true living and sanctifying faith in Christ as He appeared in the flesh, and to discern the Lord's body, coming, and sufferings aright, and to receive any real benefit by Him, as their only sacrifice and mediator. According to the beloved disciple's emphatical passages, "If we walk in the light, as (God) is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." And because this people say, that Christ's outward coming and sufferings profit not to their salvation who live in sin and rebel against this Divine light, some have untruly and uncharitably concluded that they deny the virtue and benefit of Christ's coming and sufferings in the flesh as a sacrifice for

sin. Whereas we only deny and oppose a false and dangerous application of them in and to a disobedient state. For we believe Christ came not to save men in their sins, but from their sins; and that those that open the door of their hearts at his inward and spiritual knocks (to wit, the reproofs and convictions of his light and grace), have their consciences sprinkled with his blood (that is, discharged from the guilt of them), from dead works, to serve the living God. And so far only as men come by faith, repentance, and amendment to be Christ's, Christ is theirs, and as He has an interest in their hearts, they have an interest in his love and salvation, that is, so far as they are obedient to his grace and take up his cross and follow Him in the ways of meekness, holiness, and self-denial; so far they have an interest in Christ, and no farther. And here there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, because such walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, for we have seen a shoal or sand here upon which we fear many thousands have split, and which we desire to avoid, and are earnest that others may beware of it also, viz., that because Christ died a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, by which He put mankind into a capacity of salvation, and has given every one a talent of grace to work it out by, they presume upon that sacrifice, and sin on, without a thorough repentance, reformation, and conversion to God, not dying with Christ to the world, but living in it according to the lusts and spirit of it. Such as these may be assured that where Christ is gone they shall never come, for, says the blessed apostle, God sent his Son to bless us, by turning every one of us from the evil of our way.

Perversion. Thus it is the Quakers set up works, and meriting by works, like the Papists, whereby justification by faith in Christ is laid aside.

Principle. By no means. But they say with the Apostle James, ch. ii., that true faith in Christ cannot be without works, any more than a body can live without a spirit; and that where there is life there is motion, and where there is no Divine life and motion, there can be no true faith, believing being a fruit of Divine life. The very believing is an act of the mind, concurring with God's working in or upon the mind, and therefore a godly work. And no sooner is true faith begotten in a soul, but it falls to working, which is both the nature and, in some respects, the end of it.

Nor yet do we say that our very best works, proceeding from the true faith itself, can merit. No, nor faith joined with them, because eternal life is the gift of God. All that man is capable of believing or performing can never properly be said to merit everlasting blessedness, because there can be no proportion (as there must be in case of merit) between the best works that can be performed in the life of man and an eternal felicity. Wherefore, all that man can do, even with the assistance of the Holy Spirit, can never be said strictly to merit as a debt due to the creature. But on the other hand, that right faith, and good works which arise out of it or will follow it, may and do obtain the blessed immortality which it pleaseth Almighty God to give and to privilege the sons of men with, who perform that necessary condition, is a Gospel and necessary truth. And this the Quakers ground upon, and therefore boldly affirm to the world.

So that they deny all merit from the best of works, especially by such as some Papists may conceive to be meritorious. But as they on the one hand deny the meritoriousness of works, so on the other hand neither can they join with that lazy faith which works not out the salvation of the soul with fear and trembling. Blessed is he that hears Christ's words and does them. The doer is only accepted. Wherefore, it shall be said at the last day, not well professed, but well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. Thou holy, humble, patient, and meek liver, thou that lovedst me above all, and thy neighbor as thyself, enter thou. For thee, and such as thou art, was it prepared from the foundation of the world. Which recompense of his faithfulness is the infinite love of God, revealed and given to man through Christ. For though death be the wages of sin, yet the gift of God is eternal life to such. So that as the people called Quakers do not hold that their good works merit, neither believe they that their good works justify them ; for though none are justified that are not in measure sanctified, yet all that man does is duty, and therefore cannot blot out old scores, for that is mere grace and favor, upon repentance, through Christ the sacrifice and mediator, our great scapegoat. So that men are not justified because they are sanctified, but for his sake that sanctifies them, and works all their good works in them and for them, and presents them blameless, to wit, Christ Jesus, who is made unto them, as He was to the saints of old, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, that he that glorieth might glory in the Lord.

Perversion. The Quakers deny the two great sacraments or ordinances of the Gospel, baptism and the supper.

Principle. Whatever is truly and properly a Gospel ordinance they desire to own and practise; but they observe no such language in the Scripture as in the reflection. They do confess the practice of John's baptism and the supper is to be found there; but practice only is no institution, nor a sufficient reason of continuation. That they were then proper, they believe, it being a time of great infancy, and when the mysteries of truth lay yet couched and folded up in figures and shadows, as is acknowledged by Protestants. But it is their belief that no figures or signs are perpetual or of institution under the Gospel administration, when Christ, who is the substance of them, is come; though their use might have been indulged to young converts in primitive times, because of the condescension of former practices.

It were to overthrow the whole Gospel dispensation, and to make the coming of Christ of none effect, to render signs and figures of the nature of the Gospel, which is inward and spiritual. If it be said, but they were used after the coming of Christ, and his ascension, too: they answer, so were many Jewish ceremonies, not easily abolished, as circumcision, etc. It is sufficient to them that water baptism was John's, and not Christ's, see Matt. iii. 11, Acts i. 5; that Jesus never used it, John iv. 2; that it was no part of Paul's commission, which if it were evangelical and of duration, it certainly would have been, 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16, 17; that there is but one baptism, as well as one faith, and one Lord, Eph. v. 4; and that baptism ought to be of the same nature with the kingdom of

which it is an ordinance, and that is spiritual. The same holds also as to the supper, both alluding to old Jewish practices, and used as a signification of a near and accomplishing work, viz., the substance they represented.

If any say, but Christ commanded that one of them should continue in remembrance of Him, which the apostle to the church of Corinth explains thus: that thereby they do show forth the Lord's death till He comes. We allege that He that said so, told his disciples also that He would come to them again; that some should not taste death till they saw Him coming in the kingdom; and that He that dwelleth with them should be in them; and that He would drink no more of this fruit of the vine till He should drink it new with them in the kingdom of God, which is the new wine that was to be put into the new bottles, and is the wine of the kingdom, as He expresseth it in the same place; which kingdom is within, as may be read in Luke. He was the heavenly bread that they had not yet known, nor his flesh and blood, as they were to know them, as may be seen, John vi. So that though Christ came to end all signs, yet till He was known to be the substance to the soul, as the great Bread of life from heaven, signs had their service with them, to show forth and hold in hand, and in remembrance of Christ; especially to the people of that day, whose religion was attended with a multitude of the like types, shadows, and signs of the one good thing and substance of all, Christ manifested in his people. And that great Apostle Paul says expressly of the Jewish observations, that they were shadows of the good things to come, but the substance was of Christ. Hence it is, that the people called Quakers

cannot be said to deny them. That is too hard a word; but they, truly feeling in themselves the very thing which outward water, bread, and wine do signify or point forth (to say nothing here of their abuse, and what in that case may be argued, from the instance of Hezekiah's taking away the brazen serpent by God's command), they leave them off, as fulfilled in Christ, who is in them the hope of their glory, and henceforth they have but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one bread, and one cup of blessings; and that is the new wine of the kingdom of God, which is within.

During his retirement he wrote a most excellent work, entitled "SOME FRUITS OF SOLITUDE, IN REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS RELATING TO THE CONDUCT OF HUMAN LIFE."

In the preface, he speaks thus of his seclusion from the world.

"READER:—This enchiridion I present thee with is the fruit of solitude, a school few care to learn in, though none instructs us better. Some parts of it are the results of serious reflection, others the flashing of lucid intervals, written for private satisfaction, and now published for an help to human conduct.

"The author blesseth God for his retirement, and kisses that gentle hand which led him into it; for, though it should prove barren to the world, it can never do so to him.

"He has now had some time he could call his own,—a property he was never so much master of before,—in which he has taken a view of himself and the world, and observed wherein he has hit or missed the mark; what might have

been done; what mended, and what avoided in human conduct; together with the omissions and excesses of others, as well societies and governments as private families and persons. And he verily thinks, were he to live over his life again, he could not only, with God's grace, serve Him, but his neighbor and himself, better than he hath done, and have seven years of his time to spare. And yet, perhaps, he hath not been the worst or the idlest man in the world, nor is he the oldest. And this is the rather said, that it might quicken thee, reader, to lose none of the time that is yet thine.

“There is nothing of which we are apt to be so lavish as of time, and about which we ought to be more solicitous, since, without it, we can do nothing in the world. Time is what we want most, but, what, alas! we use worst, and for which God will certainly most strictly reckon with us when time shall be no more!”

During this retirement, it probably was, that he produced a small work, bearing the appearance of a political character, but essentially a philanthropic and religious essay.

The nations of Europe were, at that time, very generally engaged in a sanguinary war. William Penn commiserating the sufferings inevitably attendant on these extensive hostilities, made an effort to draw the attention of his cotemporaries to a more rational method of adjusting the controversies of nations. In pursuance of this design he wrote “AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE, BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EUROPEAN DIET, PARLIAMENT, OR ESTATES.” In this he

first lays down the advantages of peace, and the evils, the dangers, the expenses, and desolations of war. He then explains the ostensible object of war to be the establishment of justice, but that a lawless ambition is a more common stimulant. That justice in a government preserves the internal peace of a country, but violence on the part of those in power seldom fails to excite discontent and insurrections among the people. Domestic peace is maintained by justice, which is a fruit of government, as government is from society, and society from consent.

He shows that the object of government is the preservation of peace among its members. That as by the restraint which government imposes upon the passions of individuals, the prevention and redress of injuries are intrusted to impartial hands, each individual receives the protection of society, and thereby gains more than he loses by giving up the privilege of being judge and executioner in his own cause.

He suggests the expediency of applying the same principles to the disputes of nations which are applied to those of individuals; by forming a general congress among the princes of Europe, by which a code of laws for the regulation of their mutual intercourse should be established, and to which they should all be required to submit.

He shows that the usual causes of war would be in great measure removed by the establishment of such a tribunal, without the necessity of exercising its compulsive power.

A number of objections which may be offered to the plan are afterwards stated and answered.

In the conclusion he shows that a plan, nearly analogous to his, had been actually adopted to a limited extent in some

provinces of the Netherlands ; and that Henry IV., one of the greatest monarchs who ever reigned in France, had it in contemplation to compel the princes to adopt one of a similar character, when he was suddenly cut off by the hand of an assassin. He adds, "this great king's example tells us it is fit to be done ; Sir William Temple's history shows us by a surpassing instance that it may be done ; and Europe, by her incomparable miseries, makes it now necessary to be done."

William Penn had now been about three years, in great measure, secluded from the world and from the public service of society. It is probable that many who were acquainted with the rumors of the day gave credit to the charges against him. Yet there were a number of men, conspicuous for their talents and standing in the world, who had formed a more just estimate of his character. Among these was the celebrated John Locke, who had returned to England in the same fleet with the Princess of Orange. Finding in what manner William Penn was persecuted, he used his interest with the king to procure a pardon for his supposed offences. But William Penn had too much regard for his own character, and was too confident that his innocence would be eventually proved, to accept of enlargement upon conditions which implied that he had been guilty of an offence. Several noblemen, conscious of his worth, and fully convinced that the charges against him were unfounded, interested themselves in his favor. Three of them, Ranelagh, Rochester, and Sidney, went together and represented the hardship of his case to the king. They stated that there was nothing against him but what was advanced by impostors, or

such as had fled their country ; or by men who, when pardoned for their crimes, had refused to verify their charges. They had themselves long known William Penn, some of them not less than thirty years, and had never known him do an ill action, but many good ones ; and that it was because he was unwilling to incur the suspicion of leaving the country, in defiance of government, that he had continued in it. King William told them that William Penn was his old acquaintance as well as theirs, and that he might follow his business as freely as ever, for he had nothing to say against him. It however appears probable that William Penn was desirous his innocence should be more openly acknowledged, for we find that he appeared before the king and council, where he so successfully pleaded his cause as to obtain a full acquittal.

Though the cloud which had so long hung over him was now dissipated, and his innocency clearly established, yet another heavy trial, and one that affected the tenderest sensibilities of his heart, was at hand. In about a month after his discharge his wife was removed by death.

William Penn has himself left a tribute to the memory of this noble character in "an account of the blessed end of my dear wife, Gulielma Maria Penn," which closes with these words :

"She quietly expired in my arms, her head upon my bosom, with a sensible and devout resignation of her soul to Almighty God. I hope I may say she was a public as well as private loss ; for she was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an entire and constant friend, of a more than common capacity, and greater modesty and humility ; yet most equal, and undaunted in danger ; re-

ligious, as well as ingenuous, without affectation ; an easy mistress and good neighbor, especially to the poor ; neither lavish nor penurious ; but an example of industry as well as of other virtues ; therefore, our great loss, though her own eternal gain."

Soon after he wrote to Robert Turner :

"HODSON, 27th of Twelfth month, 1693.

"**LOVING FRIEND:**—My extreme great affliction for the decease of my dear wife, makes me unfit to write much, whom the great God took to himself from the troubles of this exercising world the 23d inst. In great peace and sweetness she departed, and to her gain, but our incomparable loss, being one of ten thousand—wise, chaste, humble, plain, modest, industrious, constant, and undaunted ; but God is God, and good, and so I hope, tho' afflicted, not forsaken."

As William Penn had been honorably acquitted of those charges which prevented his return to America, it might naturally be supposed that he would immediately prepare for a voyage thither. But the decease of his wife had left a charge upon him which he could not neglect. She left two sons and one daughter, whose education demanded a father's care. His heavy expenditures in Pennsylvania, the very small returns from that quarter, and the losses sustained in Ireland, in consequence of the commotions there, had subjected him to considerable pecuniary difficulty. Moreover, the events which had occurred in relation to the government of Pennsylvania, as will be related hereafter, left a task to be accomplished at home.

XXI.

IN the year 1694 William Penn wrote a preface to the Journal of George Fox, who died, as already mentioned, in 1690. The preface is a treatise of itself, and has been frequently published separately from the work to which it was originally prefixed, under the title of "THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS." A considerable part of it is subjoined.

Divers have been the dispensations of God since the creation of the world unto the sons of men; but the great end of all of them has been the renown of his own excellent name in the creation and restoration of man—man, the emblem of Himself, as a god on earth and the glory of all his works. The world began with innocency. All was then good that the good God had made; and as He blessed the works of his hands, so their natures and harmony magnified Him their Creator. Then the morning stars sang together for joy, and all parts of his works said Amen to his law; not a jar in the whole frame; but man in paradise, the beasts in the field, the fowls in the air, the fish in the sea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth; yea, the air, the earth, the water and fire worshipped, praised, and exalted his power, wisdom, and goodness. O holy sabbath! O holy day to the Lord!

[After speaking of the fall of man, the successive dispensations of God, the apostasy from Christianity, and the progress of the reformation to his own time, he writes:]

It was about that time that the eternal, wise, and good God was pleased, in his infinite love, to honor and visit this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious dayspring from on high; yea, with a most sure and certain sound of the word of light and life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel, to an effectual and blessed purpose can many thousands say, Glory be to the name of the Lord forever!

For as it reached the conscience, and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search, so that which people had been vainly seeking without, with much pains and cost, they by this ministry found within, where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz., the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them, as the seed and leaven of the kingdom of God; near all because in all, and God's talent to all, a faithful and true witness and just monitor in every bosom, the gift and grace of God to life and salvation that appears to all, though few regard it.

God owned his own work, and this testimony did effectually reach, gather, comfort, and establish the weary and heavy laden, the hungry and thirsty, the poor and needy, the mournful and sick of many maladies, that had spent all upon physicians of no value, and waited for relief from heaven, help only from above, seeing, upon a serious trial of all things, nothing else would do but Christ himself—the light of his countenance, a touch of his garment and

help from his hand, who cured the poor woman's issue, raised the centurion's servant, the widow's son, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother. And like ~~her~~ they no sooner felt his power and efficacy upon their souls, but they gave up to obey Him, in a testimony to his power, and with resigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, beatings, prisons, and many other jeopardies that attended them, for his blessed name's sake.

And as their testimony was to the principle of God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom, as the only blessed means appointed of God to quicken, convince, and sanctify man, so they opened to them what it was in itself, and what it was given to them for, how they might know it from their own spirit, and that of the subtle appearance of the evil one; and what it would do for all those whose minds are turned off from the vanity of the world and its lifeless ways and teachers, and adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin in all its appearances, and shows how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions; giving power to such to avoid and resist those things that do not please God; and to grow strong in love, faith, and good works, that so man, whom sin hath made as a wilderness overrun with briars and thorns, might become as the garden of God, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right-hand planting, to his eternal praise.

But these experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom could not run when they list, or pray or preach when they pleased, but as Christ their

Redeemer prepared and moved them by his own blessed Spirit, for which they waited in their services and meetings, and spoke as that gave them utterance. They were diligent to plant and to water, and the Lord blessed their labors with an exceeding great increase, notwithstanding all the opposition made to their blessed progress by false rumors, calumnies, and bitter persecutions.

Two things are to be considered, the doctrine they taught and the example they led among all people. I have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner-stone of their fabric; and, indeed, to speak eminently and properly, their characteristic or main distinguishing point or principle, viz., the light of Christ within as God's gift for man's salvation. This, I say, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, repentance from dead works to serve the living God, which comprehends three operations: first, a sight of sin; secondly, a sense and godly sorrow for it; thirdly, an amendment for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came sight, and of sight came sense and sorrow, and of sense and sorrow came amendment of life; which doctrine of repentance leads to justification, that is, forgiveness of the sins that are past, through Christ the alone propitiation; and to the sanctification or purgation of the soul from the defiling nature and habits of sin present, by the Spirit of Christ in the soul, which is justification in the complete sense of that word, comprehending both jus-

tification from the guilt of the sins that are past (as if they had never been committed), through the love and mercy of God in Christ Jesus, and the creature's being made inwardly just through the cleansing and sanctifying power and Spirit of Christ revealed in the soul, which is commonly called sanctification. But that none can come to know Christ to be their sacrifice that reject Him as their sanctifier, the end of his coming being to save his people from the nature and defilement, as well as guilt of sin; and that, therefore, those that resist his light and Spirit make his coming and offering of none effect to them.

From hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling to all true Christians, viz., perfection from sin, according to the Scriptures of Truth; which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, and the nature of his kingdom, and for which his Spirit was and is given, viz., to be perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect, and holy, because God is holy. And this the apostles labored for, that the Christians should be sanctified throughout in body, soul, and spirit; but they never held a perfection in wisdom and glory in this life, or from natural infirmities, or death, as some have, with a weak or ill mind, imagined and insinuated against them.

This they called a redeemed state, regeneration, or the new birth; teaching everywhere according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Thirdly, this leads to an acknowledgment of eternal rewards and punishments, as they have good reason; for else, of all people, certainly they must be the most miser-

able, who, for above forty years, have been exceeding great sufferers for their profession.

Besides these general doctrines, as the larger branches, there sprang forth several particular doctrines, that did exemplify and farther explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before observed, in their lives and examples; as, Communion and loving one another. To love enemies. The sufficiency of truth-speaking, according to Christ's own form of sound words, of yea, yea, and nay, nay, among Christians, without swearing. Not fighting, but suffering, because all wars and fightings come of men's own hearts' lusts, and not of the meek Spirit of Christ Jesus. Refusing to pay tithes or maintenance to a national ministry; believing all compelled maintenance to be unlawful. Not to respect persons; affirming it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect. They used the plain language of thee and thou to a single person, whatever was his degree among men. They recommended silence by their example. They were at a word in dealing; and, when in company, they would neither use, nor willingly hear unnecessary or unlawful discourses; whereby they preserved their minds pure and undisturbed from unprofitable thoughts and diversions. For the same reason they forebore drinking to people, or pledging of them, as the manner of the world is. They say that marriage is an ordinance of God, and that God only can rightly join man and woman in marriage; therefore they use neither priest nor magistrate; but the man and woman concerned take each other as husband and wife, in the presence of divers credible witnesses, promising to

each other, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death shall separate them; their care and checks being so many, and such, as that no clandestine marriages can be performed among them. Their burials are performed with simplicity; the corpse being in a plain coffin; at the ground, they pause some time before they put the body into its grave, that if any there should have anything upon them to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed, and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality. Otherwise, they have no set rites or ceremonies on these occasions; neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning, deeming that what mourning is fit for a Christian to have at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, should be worn in the mind, and the love they had to them and remembrance of them be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice and care of those they have left behind them and their love of that they loved.

These and such like practices of theirs were not the result of humor, but a fruit of inward sense, which God, through his holy fear, had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves as a party from others. But God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the same glass of Truth, and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things; what it was that gratified the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world."

They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were rent as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them.

They went not forth, or preached in their own time or will, but in the will of God; and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit. And as they freely received what they had to say from the Lord, so they freely administered it to others.

The bent and stress of their ministry was conversion to God; regeneration and holiness. Not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving off, in religion, the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and pressing earnestly the substantial, the necessary and profitable part to the soul.

They directed people to a principle in themselves, though not of themselves, by which all that they asserted, preached, and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true; which is an high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry, both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test. For as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of this principle, which they asserted was in them that they preached unto; and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of those things which they had affirmed of it, as to its manifestation and work in man.

They reached to the inward state and condition of people, which is an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministering from it, and not from their

own imaginations, glosses, or comments upon Scripture. The very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out of this inward appearance of Christ: "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel."

They came forth low, and despised, and hated, as the primitive Christians did, and not by the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations, in part, have done. But in all things it may be said, this people were brought forth in the cross; in a contradiction to the ways, worships, fashions, and customs of this world; yea, against wind and tide, that so no flesh might glory before God.

They could have no design to themselves in this work, thus to expose themselves to scorn and abuse; to spend and be spent; leaving wife and children, house and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive message, revived in their spirits by the good Spirit and power of God: That God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all; and that He has sent his Son a light into the world, to enlighten all men in order to salvation; and that they that say they have fellowship with God, and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkness (*viz.*, in disobedience to the light in their consciences) and after the vanity of this world, they lie, and do not the truth. But that all such as love the light, and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, should cleanse them from all sin.

This people increasing daily both in town and country,

an holy care fell upon some of the elders among them, for the benefit and service of the church. And the first business in their view, after the example of the primitive saints, was the exercise of charity; to supply the necessities of the poor, and answer the like occasions. They were also very careful that every one that belonged to them answered their profession in their behavior among men, upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. In case of marriage, they took care that all things were clear between the parties and all others.

But because the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, sufferings, and other matters multiplied, and that it was good that the churches were in some way and method of proceeding in such affairs among them, it pleased the Lord, in his wisdom and goodness, to open the understanding of the first instrument of this dispensation of life, about a good and orderly way of proceeding. This godly elder, in every country where he travelled, exhorted them, that some out of every meeting for worship should meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church. And that these Monthly Meetings should, in each county, make up one Quarterly Meeting, where the most zealous and eminent Friends of the county should assemble to communicate, advise, and help one another. Also that these several Quarterly Meetings should digest the reports of their Monthly Meetings, and prepare one for each respective county against the Yearly Meeting, in which all Quarterly Meetings resolve.

At these meetings any of the members of the churches

may come, if they please, and speak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter. These meetings are opened and usually concluded in their solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as signal evidences of his love and presence as in any of their meetings of worship.

In these solemn assemblies for the churches' service there is no one presides among them after the manner of the assemblies of other people, Christ only being their president, as He is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them, to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of authority, but conviction, which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and Spirit in his people, making good his blessed promise that He would be in the midst of his where and whenever they were met together in his name, even to the end of the world.

The power they exercise upon members of their society is such as Christ has given to his own people to the end of the world, in the persons of his disciples, viz., to oversee, exhort, reprove, and, after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, to disown them as any more of their communion, or that they will any longer stand charged in the sight and judgment of God or men with their conversation or behavior as any of them, until they repent. They distinguish between imposing any practice that immediately regards faith or worship (which is never to be done, or suffered, or submitted unto) and requiring Christian compliance with those methods that only respect church business in its more civil part and concern, and that regard the discreet and orderly maintenance of

the character of the society as a sober and religious community. In short, what is for the promotion of holiness and charity, that men may practise what they profess, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profession without rebuke, is their use and limit of church power. They compel none to join them, but oblige those that are of them to walk suitably, or they are denied by them; that is all the mark they set upon them and the power they exercise, or judge a Christian society can exercise, upon those that are members of it.

This account of the people of God called Quakers, both with respect to their faith and worship, discipline and conversation, I judge very proper in this place, because it is to preface the journal of the first blessed and glorious instrument of this work. George Fox was born in Leicestershire about the year 1624. From a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren, being more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing beyond his years, as the answers he would give, and the questions he would put, upon occasion, manifested, to the astonishment of those that heard him, especially in divine things.

His mother, taking notice of his singular temper and the gravity, wisdom, and piety that very early shined through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company when very young, was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country business, and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them, an employment that very well suited his

mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude, and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service.

When he was somewhat above twenty he left his friends and visited the most retired and religious people in those parts. At this time he taught, and was an example of silence, endeavoring to bring them from self-performances; testifying of, and turning them to, the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man.

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement, his mind exercised towards the Lord, upon a very high mountain (in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it) he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth in a public ministry to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun that should in time be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but one shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence went north as the Lord had shown him. And in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shown to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed. For it was not in vain that he travelled, God in most places sealing his commission with the convincement

of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Those that came forth in a public ministry were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them, sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway side, calling people to repentance and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths, directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and good-will, being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned, though honest men and of good report where they lived, that had left wives, children, houses, and lands to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them, stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts, yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty conviction over those parts.

But lest this may be thought a digression, I return to this excellent man, and for his personal qualities, both natural, moral, and divine, as they appeared in his converse with the brethren, and in the church of God, take as follows :

He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth ; a discerner of others' spirits and very much a master of his own. And though that side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the

expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound, and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would seem to fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And, indeed, it showed beyond all contradiction that God sent him, in that no art or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men. And the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say with my Lord and Master upon the like occasion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world and revealed them to babes." For many times hath my soul bowed in an humble thankfulness to the Lord that He did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age of his blessed truth to men; but that He took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that his message and work He sent him to do might

come with less suspicion or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it. I say, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly in this testimony, from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it, in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and circumspect care in the government of church affairs which shined in his and their life and testimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence, and thankfulness for his love and mercy therein to mankind; in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, through the Lord's strength, to the end of my days.

In his testimony or ministry he much labored to open Truth to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the principle and principal, Christ Jesus, the light of the world, that by bringing them to something that was from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of Him and themselves.

He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant's and son's state, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in Christ, and by Christ, the true light, in all that are his through the obedience of faith,

were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God, being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own experience in that which never errs nor fails.

But above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behavior, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him most, will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear.

He was of an innocent life, no busybody, nor self-seeker; neither touchy nor critical. What fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that everywhere, and in all; but with love, compassion, and long suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and savor among them; and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

He was an incessant laborer; as he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people. He was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath.

This man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who, through prejudice or

mistake, ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience, because he pressed, by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. Though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at, as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them, that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love that thought no ill.

And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority,—and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty,—yet he never abused it; but held his place in the church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For, upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all; holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the head and care over the body; and was received, only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age; who, as he was therefore worthy of double honor, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day, because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of an endless life. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witness is true; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night

and by day, by sea and by land; in this and in foreign countries; and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things; that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the grounds of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere; civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behavior; very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us. And as he lived, so he died; feeling the same eternal power that had raised and preserved him, in his last moments. So full of assurance was he, that he triumphed over death; and so even in his spirit to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention; recommending to some of us with him the despatch and dispersion of an epistle just before given forth by him to the churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books; but above all, Friends, and of all Friends, those in Ireland and America; twice over saying, Mind poor Friends in Ireland and America.

And to some that came in and inquired how he found himself, he answered, "Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death; the seed reigns, blessed be the Lord;" which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meeting near Lombard Street, on the First day of the week, and it

was the third following, about ten at night, when he left us.

In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his children's children in the truth to many generations. He had the comfort of a short illness; and the blessing of a clear sense to the last; and we may truly say, with a man of God of old, that being dead, he yet speaketh; and though now absent in body, he is present in spirit; neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowship of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him that wrought by him; for which his memorial is and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my subject, when I have left this short epitaph to his name: "Many sons have done virtuously in this day; but, dear George, thou excellest them all."

And now, Friends, you that profess to walk in the way that this blessed man was sent of God to turn us into, suffer, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men. The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us ashamed since we were a people, you know, is that blessed principle of light and life of Christ which we profess, and direct all people to, as the great and divine instrument and agent of man's conversion to God. It was by this that we were first touched and effectually enlightened, as to our inward state; which put us upon the consideration of our latter end; causing us to set the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wisdom. In that day we

judged not after the sight of the eye, or after the hearing of the ear; but according to the light and sense this blessed principle gave us, so we judged and acted in reference to things and persons, ourselves and others; yea, towards God our Maker. For, being quickened by it in our inward man, we could easily discern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religious and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowship of all saints, it was in that our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense of one another, acted towards one another and all men, in love, faithfulness, and fear.

In feeling of the stirrings and motions of this principle in our hearts, we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel drawings and movings before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with this, stood our comfort, service, and edification. And as we ran faster or fell short in our services, we made burdens for ourselves to bear; finding in ourselves a rebuke instead of an acceptance; and in lieu of well-done, who has required this at your hands? In that day we were an exercised people—our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves; especially of the young convinced. Often had we the burthen of the word of the Lord to our neighbors, relations, and acquaintance, and sometimes strangers also. We were in travail likewise for one another's preservation; not seeking, but shunning occasions of any coldness

or misunderstanding; treating one another as those that believed and felt God present; which kept our conversation innocent, serious, and weighty; guarding ourselves against the cares and friendships of the world.

We held the Truth in the spirit of it, and not in our own spirits, or after our own will and affections; they were bowed and brought into subjection, inasmuch that it was visible to them that knew us. We did not think ourselves at our own disposal, to go where we list, or say or do what we list or when we list. Our liberty stood in the liberty of the Spirit of Truth; and no pleasure, no profit, no fear, no favor could draw us from this retired, strict, and watchful frame. We were so far from seeking occasions of company, that we avoided them what we could; pursuing our own business with moderation, instead of meddling with other peoples' unnecessarily.

Our words were few and savory, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life, from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many, as humorists, conceited and self-righteous persons, etc. But it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed, by the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converse of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaste zeal of that day. Oh, how constant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to Truth's life as well as Truth's principles! And how entire and united in our communion, as indeed be-

came those that profess one Head, even Christ Jesus the Lord.

And now as to you, my beloved and much honored brethren in Christ, that are in the exercise of the ministry : Oh, feel life in your ministry—let life be your commission, your wellspring and treasury on all such occasions, else you well know, there can be no begetting to God, since nothing can quicken or make people alive to God but the life of God ; and it must be a ministry in and from life that enlivens any people to God. It is not our parts, or memory, or the repetition of former openings, in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal ministry, however sound in words, can reach but the ear, and is but a dream at the best. There is another soundness, that is soundest of all, viz., Christ the power of God. This is the key of David, that opens and none shuts, and shuts and none can open. As the oil to the lamp, and the soul to the body, so is that to the best of words, which made Christ to say, "My words, they are spirit, and they are life," that is, they are from life, and therefore they make you alive that receive them. If the disciples, that had lived with Jesus, were to stay at Jerusalem till they received it, much more must we wait to receive before we minister, if we will turn people from darkness to light, and from Satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like-minded ; that you may ever wait reverently for the coming and opening of the Word of Life, and attend upon it in your ministry and service ; that you may serve God in his Spirit. And be it little or be it much, it is well ; for

much is not too much, and the least is enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never so little is too much, because to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the ministry of his servants, that teacheth his people to profit; and to be sure, so far as we take Him along with us in our services, so far we are profitable and no farther. For if it be the Lord that must work all things in us for our salvation, much more is it the Lord that must work in us for the conversion of others. If, therefore, it was once a cross to us to speak, though the Lord required it at our hands, let it never be so to be silent when He does not.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to outgo our Guide, nor yet loiter behind Him, since he that makes haste may miss his way, and he that stays behind lose his guide. For even those that have received the word of the Lord had need wait for wisdom, that they may see how to divide the word aright, which plainly implieth that it is possible for one that hath received the word of the Lord to miss in the dividing and application of it, which must come from an impatience of spirit, and a self-working, which makes an unsound and dangerous mixture, and will hardly beget a right-minded living people to God.

And wherever it is observed that any do minister more from gifts and parts than life and power, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admonished for their preservation, because insensibly such will come to depend upon a self-sufficiency; to forsake Christ, the living fountain, and hew out unto themselves cisterns that will hold no living

waters; and by degrees such will come to draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others, in order to their strength and refreshment, to wait upon them, and to turn from God to man again, and so make shipwreck of the faith once delivered to the saints, and of a good conscience towards God, which are only kept by that divine gift of life that begat the one and awakened and sanctified the other in the beginning.

Nor is it enough that we have known the divine gift, and in it have reached to the spirits in prison, and been the instruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourselves, and as depending upon the Lord as ever, since no memory, no repetitions of former openings, revelations, or enjoyments, will bring a soul to God, or afford bread to the hungry, or water to the thirsty, unless life go with what we say, and that must be waited for.

Oh, that we may have no other fountain, treasure, or dependence. That none may presume, at any rate, to act of themselves for God, because they have long acted from God; that we may not supply want of waiting with our own wisdom, or think that we may take less care and more liberty in speaking than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord, by his power, to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people, or has been our customary supply and character, we may not exceed or fill up the time with our own.

I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long professors of the Truth, and know the Truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a sober conversation among men, yet content yourselves only to know Truth

for yourselves, to go to meetings, and exercise an ordinary charity in the church, and an honest behavior in the world, and limit yourselves within these bounds; feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his Truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such service. Arise ye in the name and power of the Lord Jesus! Behold how white the fields are unto harvest in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful laborers there are to work therein! Your country-folks, neighbors, and kindred want to know the Lord and his Truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and see, and lose no time, I beseech you, for the Lord is at hand.

Ponder your ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do; and if you find yourselves short in your account with Him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well-doing, when you have put your hand to the plough; and assuredly you shall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labor in God's everlasting kingdom.

And you, young convinced ones, be you intreated and exhorted to a diligent and chaste waiting upon God, in the way of his blessed manifestation and appearance of Himself to you. Look not out, but within; let not another's liberty be your snare; neither act by imitation, but sense and feeling of God's power in yourselves; crush not the tender buddings of it in your souls, nor overrun, in your desires and warmness of affections, the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a still

voice that speaks to us in this day, and that it is not to be heard in the noises and hurries of the mind; but it is distinctly understood in a retired frame. Jesus loved and chose solitudes; often going to mountains, gardens, and seashores, to avoid crowds and hurries, to show his disciples it was good to be solitary, and sit loose to the world. Two enemies lie near your states, imagination and liberty; but the plain, practical, living, holy Truth, that has convinced you, will preserve you, if you mind it in yourselves, and bring all thoughts, inclinations, and affections to the test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your own selves. So will a true taste, discerning, and judgment be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone. And when you are converted, as well as convinced, then confirm your brethren; and be ready to every good word and work that the Lord shall call you to.

And now, as for you, that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my spirit for your good. O you young men and women! let it not suffice you, that you are the children of the people of the Lord; you must also be born again, if you will inherit the kingdom of God. Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, which is the incorruptible seed of the Word and kingdom of God, of which you must be born again? God is no respecter of persons. The father cannot save or answer for the child, or the child for the father. Your many and great privileges above the children of other people, will add weight in the scale against you, if you choose not the way of the Lord. For you have had line upon line, and precept upon precept, and

not only good doctrine, but good example; and, which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a principle in yourselves, which others have been ignorant of.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women! look to the rock of your fathers. There is no other God but Him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, nor spirit but his, to convince you, quicken and comfort you; to lead, guide, and preserve you to God's everlasting kingdom. So will you be possessors as well as professors of the Truth, embracing it not only by education, but judgment and conviction; from a sense begotten in your souls, through the operation of the eternal Spirit and power of God.

I shall conclude with a few words to those that are not of our communion, into whose hands this may come.

I beseech you, ponder with yourselves your eternal condition, and see what title, what ground and foundation you have for your Christianity; if more than a profession, and an historical belief of the gospel. Have you known the baptism of fire, and the Holy Ghost, and the fan of Christ that winnows away the chaff in your minds, and carnal lusts and affections?—that divine leaven of the kingdom, that, being received, leavens the whole lump of man, sanctifying him throughout in body, soul, and spirit.

If you have true faith in Christ, your faith will make you clean; it will sanctify you; for the saints' faith was their victory of old. By this they overcame sin within, and sinful men without. And if thou art in Christ, thou walkest not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, whose

fruits are manifest. Yea, thou art a new creature; new made, new fashioned, after God's will and mould. Old things are done away, and behold all things are become new; new love, desires, will, affections, and practices. Therefore, have a care how you presume to rely upon such a notion, as that you are in Christ, whilst in your old fallen nature.

If you would know God, and worship and serve God as you should do, you must come to the means He has ordained and given for that purpose. Some seek it in books, some in learned men; but what they look for is in themselves, though not of themselves; but they overlook it. The voice is too still, the seed too small, and the light shineth in darkness. Wherefore, O Friends, turn in, turn in, I beseech you. There you want Christ, and there you must find Him; and blessed be God, there you may find Him. Seek and you shall find, I testify for God. But then you must seek aright, with your whole heart, as men that seek for their lives, yea, for their eternal lives; diligently, humbly, patiently, as those that can taste no pleasure, comfort, or satisfaction in anything else, unless you find Him whom your souls desire to know and love above all. Oh! it is a travail, a spiritual travail, let the carnal, profane world think and say as it will. And through this path you must walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! and what does this blessed light do for you? Why, first, it sets all your sins in order before you; it detects the spirit of this world in all its baits and allurements, and shows how man came to fall from God, and the fallen estate he is in. Secondly, it begets a sense and

sorrow in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. You will then see Him distinctly whom you have pierced, and all the blows and wounds you have given Him by your disobedience, and how you have made Him to serve with your sins; and you will weep and mourn for it, and your sorrow will be a godly sorrow. Thirdly, after this it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do so no more, and that the enemy surprise you not again. Then thoughts, as well as words and works, will come to judgment; which is the way of holiness, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to love God above all, and your neighbors as yourselves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this holy mountain. Now you come to be Christ's indeed; for you are his in nature and spirit, and not your own. And when you are thus Christ's, then Christ is yours, and not before. And here communion with the Father and with the Son, you will know, and the efficacy of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb, which speaks better things than the blood of Abel; and which cleanseth from all sin the consciences of those that through the living faith come to be sprinkled with it, from dead works to serve the living God.

XXII.

IN the year 1695, an anonymous writer published what he called an answer to William Penn's Key; a tract which has been noticed under the transactions of 1692.

The writer, having charged him with prevarication, and attributed his conduct to an intemperate zeal for an unbounded liberty of conscience, according to the doctrine of King James's declaration, William Penn refers him to several of his works which were published in Charles's time, to show that he always defended the same principles, and was not more intemperate in the reign that favored liberty of conscience than he was in the one which did not. To which he adds, "No man but a persecutor can, without great injustice or ingratitude, reproach that part I had in King James's court. For I think I may say, without vanity, upon this provocation, I endeavored at least to do some good at my own cost, and would have been glad to have done more. I am very sure I intended, and I think I did, harm to none, either parties or private persons, my own family excepted."

On the 5th of First month, 1696, William Penn accomplished his marriage at Bristol with Hannah Callowhill, daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and granddaughter of Dennis Hollister, both eminent merchants of that city.

Shortly after this he was subjected to a heavy trial, by the death of his eldest son, a youth of very promising

character, both in regard to his understanding, which was of the brightest order, and the more substantial virtues of the heart.

His father has left the following record :

“My very dear child and eldest son, Springett Penn, from his childhood manifested a disposition to goodness, and gave me hope of a more than ordinary capacity ; and time satisfied me in both respects. Besides a good share of learning and especially of mathematical knowledge, he showed a judgment in the use and application of it, much above his years. He had the seeds of many good qualities rising in him, which made him beloved, and consequently lamented ; but especially his humility, plainness, and truth ; with a tenderness and softness of nature that, if I may say it, were an improvement upon his other good qualities. And though these were no security against sickness and death, yet they went a good way to facilitate a due preparation for them. Indeed the good ground that was in him showed itself very plainly sometime before his illness. For more than half a year before it pleased the Lord to visit him with weakness, he grew more retired, and much disengaged from youthful delights ; showing a remarkable tenderness in meetings, even when they were silent. But when he saw himself doubtful as to his recovery, he turned his mind and meditations more apparently towards the Lord ; secretly, as also when those were in the room who attended upon him, praying often with great fervency to the Lord, and uttering many thankful expressions and praises to Him in a very deep and sensible manner. One day he said to us, ‘I am resigned to what God pleaseth ; He knows what is best. I

would live, if it pleased Him, that I might serve Him. But, O Lord, not my will, but thy will be done.'

"One speaking to him of the things of this world, and what might please him when recovered, he answered, 'My eye looks another way, where the truest pleasure is.' When he told me he had rested well, and I said it was a mercy to him, he quickly replied upon me, with a serious yet sweet look, 'All is mercy, dear father; everything is mercy.' Another time when I went to meeting, at parting, he said, 'Remember me, my dear father, before the Lord. Though I cannot go to meetings, yet I have many good meetings; the Lord comes in upon my spirit. I have heavenly meetings with Him by myself.'

"Not many days before he died, while alone, the Lord appeared by his holy power upon his spirit, and at my return, asking him how he did, he told me, 'Oh, I have had a sweet time, a blessed time! Great enjoyments. The power of the Lord overcame my soul: a sweet time indeed!'

"On my telling him how some of the gentry who had been to visit him were gone to their games, and sports, and pleasures, and how little consideration the children of men had of God and their latter end; and how much happier he was in this weakness, to have been otherwise educated, and to be preserved from those temptations to vanity, etc., he answered, 'It is all stuff, my dear father: it is sad stuff. Oh, that I might live to tell them so!' 'Well, my dear child,' I replied, 'let this be the time of thy entering into secret covenant with God, that if He raise thee, thou wilt dedicate thy youth, strength, and life to Him and his people and service.' He returned, 'Father, that is not

now to do ; it is not now to do ;' with great tenderness upon his spirit.

"Being almost ever near him, and doing anything for him he wanted or desired, he broke out with much sense and love, 'My dear father, if I live I will make thee amends.' And speaking to him of Divine enjoyments, that the eye of man saw not, but the soul, made alive by the spirit of Christ, plainly felt ; he, in a lively remembrance, cried out, 'I had a sweet time yesterday by myself ! the Lord hath preserved me to this day ! O blessed be his name ; my soul praises Him for his mercy ! Father, it is of the goodness of the Lord that I am as well as I am !' Fixing his eyes upon his sister, he took her by the hand, saying, 'Poor Tishe, look to good things, poor child, there is no comfort without it. One drop of the love of God is worth more than all the world. I know it ; I have tasted it. I have felt as much or more of the love of God in this weakness than in all my life before.' At another time, as I stood by him, he looked up upon me and said, 'Dear father, sit by me. I love thy company, and I know thou lovest mine ; and if it be the Lord's will that we must part, be not troubled, for that will trouble me.'

"Taking something one night in bed, just before going to rest, he sat up, and fervently prayed thus : 'O Lord God, thou whose Son said to his disciples, Whatsoever ye ask in my name ye shall receive, I pray thee, in his name, bless this to me this night, and give me rest, if it be thy blessed will, O Lord !' And accordingly he had a very comfortable night, of which he took a thankful notice before us next day.

"And when he at one time, more than ordinarily, ex-

pressed a desire to live, and entreated me to pray for him, he added, 'Dear father, if the Lord should raise me and enable me to serve Him and his people, then I might travel with thee sometimes, and we might ease one another,' (meaning in the ministry :) he spoke it with great modesty. Upon which I said to him, 'My dear child, if it please the Lord to raise thee, I am satisfied it will be so; and if not, then inasmuch as it is thy fervent desire in the Lord, He will look upon thee just as if thou didst live to serve Him, and thy comfort will be the same: so either way it will be well. For if thou shouldst not live, I do verily believe thou wilt have the recompense of thy good desires, without the temptations and troubles that would attend, if long life were granted to thee.'

"Saying one day, 'I am resolved I will have such a thing done,' he immediately caught himself, and fell into this reflection, with much contrition, 'Did I say, I will? O Lord, forgive me that irreverent and hasty expression! I am a poor weak creature and live by thee, and therefore I should have said, if it pleaseth thee that I live, I intend to do so or so; Lord, forgive my rash expression.'

"Seeing my present wife ready to be helpful and do anything for him, he turned to her and said, 'Don't thou do so; let them; don't trouble thyself so much for such a poor creature as I am.' On her taking leave of him a few nights before his end, he said to her, 'Pray for me, dear mother: thou art good and innocent, it may be the Lord may hear thy prayers for me, for I desire my strength again, that I might live, and employ it more in the Lord's service.'

"Two or three days before his departure, he called his

brother to him, and looking awfully upon him said, 'Be a good boy, and know there is a God, a great and mighty God, who is a rewarder of the righteous, and so He is of the wicked, but their rewards are not the same. Have a care of idle people and idle company, and love good company and good Friends, and the Lord will bless thee. I have seen good things for thee since my sickness, if thou dost but fear the Lord. And if I should not live, though the Lord is all-sufficient, remember what I say to thee, when I am dead and gone: poor child, the Lord bless thee; come and kiss me!' Which melted us all into great tenderness, but his brother more particularly.

"Many good exhortations he gave to some of the servants, and others who came to see him, that were not of our communion, as well as those that were, which drew tears from their eyes.

"The day but one before he died, he went to take the air in a coach; but said at his return, 'Really, father, I am exceedingly weak; thou canst not think how weak I am.' 'My dear child,' I replied, 'thou art weak, but God is strong, who is the strength of thy life.' 'Ay, that is it,' said he, 'which upholdeth me.' The day before he departed, being alone with him, he desired me to fasten the door; and looking earnestly upon me, said, 'Dear father, thou art a dear father, and I know thy Father; come let us two have a little meeting, a private ejaculation together, now nobody else is here. O my soul is sensible of the love of God!' And indeed a sweet time we had, like to precious ointment for his burial.

"He desired to go home, if not to live, to die there, and we made preparation for it, being twenty miles from my

house; and so much stronger was his spirit than his body, that he spoke of going next day, which was the morning he departed; and a symptom it was of his great journey to his longer home. That morning he left us, growing more and more sensible of his extreme weakness he asked me, as doubtful of himself, 'How shall I go home?' I told him in a coach; he answered, 'I am best in a coach.' But observing his decay, I said, 'Why, child? thou art at home everywhere.' 'Ay,' said he, 'so I am in the Lord.' I took that opportunity to ask him if I should remember his love to his friends at Bristol, London, etc. 'Yes, yes,' said he, 'my love in the Lord; my love to all friends in the Lord.' 'And relations, too?' He said, 'Ay, to be sure.' Being asked if he would have his ass's milk, or eat anything, he answered, 'No more outward food, but heavenly food is provided for me.'

"His time drawing on apace, he said to me, 'My dear father, kiss me. Thou art a dear father. I desire to prize it; how can I make thee amends?'

"He also called his sister, and said to her, 'Poor child, come and kiss me;' there seemed a tender and long farewell between them. I sent for his brother that he might kiss him, too, which he did; all were in tears about him, and turning his head to me, he said softly, 'Dear father, hast thou no hope for me?' I answered, 'My dear child, I am afraid to hope, and I dare not despair; but am and have been resigned, though one of the hardest lessons I ever learned.' He paused awhile, and with a composed frame of mind, said, 'Come life, come death, I am resigned. Oh, the love of God overcomes my soul!' Feeling himself decline apace, and seeing him not able to bring

up the matter that was in his throat, somebody fetched the doctor, but so soon as he came in, he said, 'Let my father speak to the doctor, and I will go to sleep;' which he did, and waked no more, breathing his last on my breast, the 10th day of the Second month, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, 1696, in his one and twentieth year.

"So ended the life of my dear child and eldest son, much of my comfort and hope, and one of the most tender and dutiful, as well as ingenuous and virtuous, youths I knew, if I may say so of my own dear child. In him I lost all that any father can lose in a child, since he was capable of anything that became a sober young man; my friend and companion, as well as most affectionate and dutiful child.

"May this loss and end have its due weight and impression upon all his dear relations and friends, and those to whose hands this account may come, for their remembrance and preparation for their great and last change; and I shall have my end in making my dear child thus far public.

WILLIAM PENN."

The year in which the events last mentioned occurred appears to have been passed by William Penn chiefly at home; yet he was not entirely occupied with his secular concerns, for he published a tract, entitled, "PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY REVIVED, IN THE FAITH AND PRACTICE OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS," (from which the following is taken.)

THAT WHICH the people called Quakers lay down as a

main fundamental in religion, is this, That God, through Christ, hath placed his Spirit in every man, to inform him of his duty, and to enable him to do it; and that those who live up to this, are the people of God, and those that live in disobedience to it are not God's people, whatever name they may bear or profession they may make of religion. This is their ancient, first, and standing testimony. With this they began, and this they bore, and do bear to the world.

By this Spirit they understand something that is Divine; and though in man, yet not of man, but of God; and that it came from Him, and leads to Him all those that will be led by it.

There are divers ways of speaking, which they have been led to use, by which they declare and express what this Spirit is, about which I think fit to precaution the reader, viz., They call it, The light of Christ within man, or light within, which is their ancient and most general and familiar phrase; also the manifestation or appearance of Christ, the witness of God, the seed of God, the seed of the kingdom, wisdom, the word in the heart, the grace that appears to all men, the Spirit given to every man to profit with, the Truth in the inward parts, the spiritual leaven that leavens the whole lump of man; many of which are figurative expressions, but all of them such as the Holy Ghost hath used, and which will be used in this treatise, as they are most frequently in the writings and ministry of this people. But that this variety and manner of expression may not occasion any misapprehension or confusion in the understanding of the reader, I would have him know that they always mean by these terms

or denominations, not another, but the same as before mentioned; which as I said, though it be in man, is not of man, but of God, and, therefore, divine; and one in itself, though diversely expressed by the holy men, according to the various manifestations and operations thereof.

It is to this spirit of light, life, and grace that this people refer all; for they say it is the great agent in religion; that, without which, there is no conviction, so no conversion or regeneration; and consequently no entering into the kingdom of God. That is to say, there can be no true sight of sin or sorrow for it, and, therefore, no forsaking or overcoming it, nor remission or justification from it.

THE DOCTRINES of satisfaction and justification, truly understood, are placed in so strict a union, that the one is a necessary consequence of the other, and what we say of them, is what agrees with the suffrage of Scripture, and for the most part in the terms of it; always believing that in points where there arises any difficulty, be it from the obscurity of expression, mis-translation, or the dust raised by the heats of partial writers, or nice critics, it is ever best to keep close to the text, and maintain charity in the rest.

We do believe that Jesus Christ was our holy sacrifice, atonement, and propitiation; that He bore our iniquities, and that by his stripes we were healed of the wounds Adam gave us in his fall; and that God is just in forgiving true penitents upon the credit of that holy offering which Christ made of himself to God for us; and that what He did and suffered, satisfied and pleased God, and was for the sake of fallen man, who had displeased God:

and that through the offering up of himself once for all, through the eternal Spirit, He hath forever perfected those (in all times) that were sanctified, who walked not after the flesh, but after the spirit, Rom. viii. 1.

Justification consists of two parts, or hath a twofold consideration, viz. justification from the guilt of sin, and justification from the power and pollution of sin; and in this sense justification gives a man a full and clear acceptance before God. For want of this latter part it is, that so many souls, religiously inclined, are often under doubts, scruples, and despondencies, notwithstanding all that their teachers tell them of the extent and efficacy of the first part of justification. And it is too general an unhappiness among the professors of Christianity, that they are apt to cloak their own active and passive disobedience with the active and passive obedience of Christ.

The first part of justification, we do reverently and humbly acknowledge, is only for the sake of the death and sufferings of Christ; nothing we can do, though by the operation of the Holy Spirit, being able to cancel old debts, or wipe out old scores; it is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, upon faith and repentance, that justifies us from the sins that are past; and it is the power of Christ's spirit in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. For until the heart of man is purged from sin, God will never accept of it. He reproves, rebukes and condemns those that entertain sin there, and therefore such cannot be said to be in a justified state; condemnation and justification being contraries. So that they that hold themselves in a justified state by the active and passive obedience of Christ, while they are

not actively and passively obedient to the spirit of Christ Jesus, are under a strong and dangerous delusion; and for crying out against this sin-pleasing imagination, not to say doctrine, we are reproached as deniers and despisers of the death and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. But be it known to such they add to Christ's sufferings, and crucify to themselves afresh the Son of God, and trample the blood of the covenant under their feet, who walk unholily under a profession of justification; for God will not acquit the guilty, nor justify the disobedient and unfaithful.

Wherefore, O my reader, rest not thyself wholly satisfied with what Christ has done for thee in his blessed person without thee, but press to know his power and kingdom within thee, that the strong man, who has too long kept thy house, may be bound and his goods spoiled, his works destroyed and sin ended, according to 1 John iii. 7. For which end, says that beloved disciple, Christ was manifested; that all things may become new; new heavens and new earth, in which righteousness dwells. Thus thou wilt come to glorify God in thy body and in thy spirit, which are his; and live to him and not to thyself. Thy love, joy, worship, and obedience; thy life, conversation and practice; thy study, meditation and devotion, will be spiritual. The Father and the Son will make their abode with thee, and Christ will manifest himself to thee; for the secrets of the Lord are with them that fear Him; and an holy unction, or anointing have all those, which leads them into all truth, and they need not the teachings of men. They are better taught, being instructed by the Divine oracle. They are not bare hearsay or traditional

Christians, but fresh and living witnesses : those that have seen with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, and have handled with their own hands the Word of life, in the divers operations of it, to their souls' salvation. In this they meet, in this they preach, and in this they pray and praise ; behold the new covenant fulfilled, the church and worship of Christ, the great anointed of God and the great anointing of God in his holy high priesthood and offices in his church !

AND LEST any should say we are equivocal in our expressions, and allegorize away Christ's appearance in the flesh—meaning only thereby our own flesh ; and that as often as we mention Him, we mean only a mystery or a mystical sense of Him, be it as to his coming, birth, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, mediation, and judgment ; I would yet add, to preserve the well disposed from being staggered by such suggestions, and to inform and reclaim such as are under the power and prejudice of them :

That we do, we bless God, religiously believe and confess, to the glory of God the Father, and the honor of his dear and beloved Son, that Jesus Christ took our nature upon Him, and was like unto us in all things, sin excepted ; that He was born of the Virgin Mary ; suffered under Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor ; was crucified, dead, and buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea ; rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of God, in the power and majesty of his Father, who will one day judge the world by Him, even that blessed man, Christ Jesus, according to their works.

But, because we so believe, must we not believe what

Christ said? "He that is with you shall be in you." "I in them, and they in me," etc. "When it pleased God to reveal his Son in me." "The mystery hid from ages is Christ in the Gentiles, the hope of glory." "Unless Christ be in you, ye are reprobates!" Or must we be industriously represented as deniers of Christ's coming in the flesh, and the holy ends of it, in all the parts and branches of his doing and suffering, only because we believe and press the necessity of believing, receiving and obeying his inward and spiritual appearance and manifestation of himself, through his light, grace, and Spirit in the hearts and consciences of men and women, to reprove, convict, convert, and change them?

Regeneration we must know, or we cannot be children of God and heirs of eternal glory. To be born again, another spirit must prevail, leaven, season, and govern us than either the spirit of the world or our own depraved spirits; and this can be no other Spirit than that which dwelt in Christ; for unless that dwell in us, we can be none of his (Rom. viii. 9). And this Spirit begins in conviction, and ends in conversion and perseverance; and the one follows the other. Conversion being the consequence of convictions obeyed, and perseverance a natural fruit of conversion, and being born of God; "For such sin not, because the Seed of God abides in them." But such, through faithfulness, continue to the end, and obtain the promise, even everlasting life.

But let my reader take this along with him, that we do acknowledge that Christ, through his holy doing and suffering, for being a Son, He learned obedience, has obtained mercy of God, his Father, for mankind, and that

his obedience has an influence to our salvation, in all the parts and branches of it, since thereby he became a conqueror, and led captivity captive, and obtained gifts for men, with divers great and precious promises, that thereby we might be partakers of the Divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world, through lust. I say, we do believe and confess, that the active and passive obedience of Christ Jesus affects our salvation throughout, as well from the power and pollution of sin as from the guilt, he being a conqueror as well as a sacrifice, and both through suffering. Yet they that reject his Divine gift, so obtained, and which He has given to them, by which to see their sin and the sinfulness of it, and to repent and turn away from it, and do so no more; and to wait upon God for daily strength to resist the fiery darts of the enemy, and to be comforted through the obedience of faith in and to this Divine grace of the Son of God, such do not please God, do not believe truly in God, nor are they in a state of true Christianity and salvation. "Woman," said Christ to the Samaritan at the well, "hadst thou known the gift of God, and who it is that speaketh to thee," etc. People know not Christ and God, "whom to know is life eternal," because they are ignorant of the gift of God, viz.: "A manifestation of the Spirit of God is given to every man to profit withal;" which reveals Christ and God to the soul. Flesh and blood cannot do it, Oxford and Cambridge cannot do it, tongues and philosophy cannot do it: for they who by wisdom knew not God, had these things for their wisdom. They were strong, deep, and accurate in them; but, alas! they were clouded, puffed up, and set further off from the inward

and saving knowledge of God, because they sought for it in them, and thought to find God there. But the key of David is another thing, which shuts and no man opens, and opens and no man shuts; and this key have all they that receive the gift of God into their hearts, and it opens to them the knowledge of God and themselves, and gives them quite another sight, taste, and judgment of things than their educational or traditional knowledge afforded them. This is the beginning of the new creation of God, and thus it is we come to be new creatures.

And we are bold to declare there is no other way like this by which people can come into Christ, or be true Christians, or receive the advantage that comes by the death and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore we say, and upon good authority, even that of our own experience, as well as that of the Scriptures of Truth, Christ will prove no saving sacrifice for them who refuse to obey Him for their example. They that reject the gift, deny the Giver, instead of themselves for the Giver's sake. Oh that people were wise, that they would consider their latter end, and the things that make for the peace thereof! Why should they perish in a vain hope of life, while death reigns; of living with God, who live not to Him, nor walk with Him? Awake thou that sleepest in thy sin, or at best in thy self-righteousness! Awake, I say, and Christ shall give thee life! For He is the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit, who quickens us by his Spirit, if we do not resist it and quench it by our disobedience, but receive, love, and obey it in all the holy leadings and teachings of it. Rom. viii. 14, 15. To which Holy Spirit I commend my reader, that he may the better see where he is, and also

come to the true belief and advantage of the doings and sufferings of our dear and blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who saves from the power and pollution, as well as guilt of sin, all those who hear his knocks, and open the door of their hearts to Him, that He may come in and work a real and thorough reformation in and for them.

William Penn in 1697 paid a visit to Peter the Great, Czar of Russia. This extraordinary man took the singular resolution of visiting several parts of Europe in person, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the arts, which were but very imperfectly understood in his own country. Having resided for some time in Holland, where he worked in one of the dock-yards, at ship-building, he went to England, and engaged in a similar employment at Deptford.

The Czar became so much interested in Friends, that he sometimes attended their meetings at Deptford. William Penn afterwards wrote him the following letter :

“ William Penn to the Czar of Muscovy.

“ It was a profound respect, and not a vain curiosity, great Czar, which brought me twice to wait upon thee. My desire was, and is, that as God Almighty has distinguished thee above so many millions of thy fellow-creatures, so thou mayest distinguish thyself above them by an extraordinary zeal for piety and charity, which are the two legs the Christian religion stands upon ; and where they are wanting or defective, it must needs fall in the streets to the scorn and triumph of the heathen. May thy example show thee to be as good as great, that thou mayst bear his image by whom kings reign and princes decree

justice, which, without goodness, power itself can never do. Optimus was, of old, preferred to Maximus among heathen princes, much more it should be among Christian emperors. If thou wouldst rule well, thou must rule for God; and to do that, thou must be ruled by Him who has given to kings his grace to command themselves and their subjects, and to the people the grace to obey God and their kings. Know, great Czar, and take it with thee, as one part of the collection of knowledge thou art making in this unexampled travel, that 'tis in this kingdom of England that God has visited and touched the hearts of a people, above forty years ago, by the holy light and grace of his Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ. By which their minds have been turned from false worship and evil living to worship God, who is a Spirit, in and by his own Spirit, and be led by it in their conversation, that they may bring forth the fruits of it among men to his praise that has called them. They are an inward and retired people, that dare not conform themselves to vain inventions and fashions of the world, either in religious or civil conversation, but live and act as believing that God seeth them in all they do, and will judge them according to what they do. They teach that men must be holy, or they cannot be happy—that they should be few in words, peaceable in life, suffer wrongs, love enemies, deny themselves—without which, faith is false, worship formality, and religion hypocrisy. Yet they are an industrious people in their generation, and though against superfluity, yet lovers of ingenuity. It was in their name five of us came to salute thee, who wish thou mayst have an eye to this divine principle of life and light in the soul,

a measure of which is given to thee and all men to profit with. That by it piety, wisdom, and charity may dwell with thee, and thou mayst be qualified to serve the mighty God suitable to the great opportunities He hath put into thy hands, so prays a little man, but thy great friend and well-wisher,
WILLIAM PENN."

"Seventh mo., 2, '98."

William Penn appears to have spent much time, after his release from seclusion by order of King William, in travelling through England and Ireland in the work of the ministry. There was in the public mind a reaction in his favor and he rose higher than ever in the estimation of his friends.

It is said of some of his meetings, in the Life prefacing his writings, "The people flocked in abundantly, and his testimony to the Truth, answering to that of God in their consciences, was assented to by many."

Thos. Story speaking of the Half-Yearly Meeting at Dublin, says, "Great was the resort of people of all ranks and professions to our meetings, chiefly on account of our friend William Penn, who was ever furnished by the Truth with matter fully to answer their expectations. Many of the clergy were there, and the people, with one voice, spoke well of what they heard."

In other places in Ireland, William Penn and the Friends who accompanied him had large meetings attended by people of all ranks. During this journey, Thomas Story says that some members of his own Society, "filled with envy and unwisely emulating that glory and dignity the Lord was pleased to put upon William Penn for the ex-

latation of his own holy name, had made very unworthy and unchristian attempts against his character in his absence, and even in the Yearly Meeting, to the great grief of all the right-minded among them." Again he says, "On the First day following we had another very large meeting there, and the Lord was mightily with William Penn that day, clothing him with majesty, holy zeal, and divine wisdom, to the great satisfaction of Friends there, even increasing that unsought praise which some did much grudge him, who by attempting his character unjustly greatly lost their own."

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XXIII.

ABOUT fifteen years had now passed away since William Penn left his province in America. In the year to which we have arrived, he found his way open to return. On his former visit, we may remember, he left his family behind; but he now resolved upon taking his wife and children with him; expecting in all probability to spend the remainder of his days in Pennsylvania.

In the course of this year, (1699,) and probably while he was preparing for his American voyage, he wrote a valuable compendium of Christian morality, in the form of "ADVICE TO HIS CHILDREN," relating to their civil and religious conduct, from which the following characteristic passages are taken.

"I will begin with that which is the beginning of all true wisdom and happiness, the holy fear of God.

"Children, fear God; that is to say, have an holy awe upon your minds to avoid that which is evil and a strict care to embrace and do that which is good. The measure and standard of which knowledge and duty is the light of Christ in your consciences, by which, as in John iii. 20, 21, you may clearly see if your deeds, aye, and your words and thoughts, too, are wrought in God or not; for thoughts are the deeds of the mind for which you must be judged. And as you come to obey this blessed light in its holy con-

victions, it will lead you out of the world's dark and degenerate ways and works, and bring you unto Christ's way and life, and to be of the number of his true, self-denying followers, to take up your cross for his sake, who bore his for yours.

“Christ is called light because He gives man a sight of his sin. And He is also called the quickening Spirit. It is the great end, and benefit, and blessing of the coming of Christ, viz., the shining forth of this light and pouring forth of this Spirit. God sent his Son to bless us in turning us from the evil of our ways; therefore have a care of evil, for that turns you away from God; and wherein you have done evil, do so no more; but be ye turned, my dear children, from evil in thought, as well as in word and deed, or that will turn you from God your Creator, and Christ, whom He has given you for your Redeemer, who redeems and saves his people from their sins, not in their sins. This holy, divine principle is called grace, too. And why grace? Because it is God's love and not our desert, his good-will, his kindness. ‘He so loved the world that He gave his only-begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life;’ and this holy Son is declared in John i. 14, 16 to be full of grace and truth, and that of his grace we receive grace for grace, that is, we receive of Him the fulness, what measure of grace we need.

“This is that which is come by Christ, and a measure of this light, spirit, grace, and truth is given to every man and woman to see their way to go by.

“Oh, my dear children, this is the pearl of price; part with all for it, but never part with it for all the world.

Yea, this is the divine and incorruptible seed of the kingdom, of which all truly regenerate men and women, Christians of Christ's making, are born. Receive it into your hearts, give it room there, let it take deep root in you, and you will be fruitful unto God in every good word and work. As you take heed to it and the holy enlightenings and motions of it, you will have a perfect discerning of the spirit of this world, in all its appearances in yourselves and others. And you will also see that the testimony unto which the eternal God hath brought our poor Friends, as to religion, worship, truth-speaking, ministry, plainness, simplicity, and moderation in apparel, furniture, food, salutation, as you may read in their writings, from the very beginning, is a true and heavenly testimony of his mind, will, work, and dispensation in this last age of the world to mankind, being the revival of true primitive Christianity; where your most tender father prays that you may be kept, and charges you to watch that you may be preserved in the faith and practice of that blessed testimony; and count it no small mercy from God and honor to you that you come of parents who counted nothing too dear or near to part with, nor too great to do or suffer, that they might approve themselves to God, and testify their love to his most precious Truth in the inward parts in their generation.

“Having thus expressed myself to you, my dear children, as to the things of God, his Truth and kingdom, I refer you to his light, grace, Spirit, and Truth within you, and to the Holy Scriptures of Truth without you, which from my youth I loved to read, and were ever blessed to me, and which I charge you to read daily; the Old Testa

ment for history chiefly, the Psalms for meditation and devotion, the prophets for comfort and hope, but especially the New Testament for doctrine, faith, and worship: for they were given forth by holy men of God in divers ages, as they were moved of the Holy Spirit; and they are the declared and revealed mind and will of the holy God to mankind, under divers dispensations, and they are certainly able to make the man of God perfect, through faith unto salvation, being a true and clear testimony to the salvation that is of God, through Christ the second Adam, the light of the world, the quickening Spirit, who is full of grace and truth. I say, having thus expressed myself in general, I shall now descend to particulars, that you may more directly apply what I have said.

“I will begin here, also, with the beginning of time, the morning. So soon as you wake, retire your minds into a pure silence from all thoughts and ideas of worldly things, and in that frame wait upon God, to feel his good presence, to lift up your hearts to Him, and commit your whole self into his blessed care and protection. Then rise, if well, immediately; being dressed, read a chapter or more in the Scriptures, and afterwards dispose yourselves for the business of the day, ever remembering that God is present, the overseer of all your thoughts, words, and actions. As you have intervals from your lawful occasions, delight to step home, within yourselves, I mean, and commune with your own hearts and be still. This will bear you up against all temptations, and carry you sweetly and evenly through your day’s business, supporting you under disappointments, and moderating your satisfaction in success and prosperity. The evening being

come, read again the holy Scripture, and have your times of retirement before you close your eyes, as in the morning, that so the Lord may be the Alpha and Omega of every day of your lives. And if God bless you with families, remember good Joshua's resolution, 'But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.'

"In conversation, mark well what others say or do, and hide your own mind, at least till last. A just observance and reflection upon men and things give wisdom; these are the great books of learning seldom read. Interrupt none, anticipate none: 'Be quick to hear, slow to speak.' Affect not words, but matter, and chiefly to be pertinent and plain. Truest eloquence is plainest, and brief speaking is the best. Return no answer to anger, unless with much meekness, which often turns it away, but rarely make replies, less rejoinders, for these add fuel to the fire. It is a wrong time to vindicate yourselves, the true ear being then never open to hear it.

"Have but few books, but let them be well chosen and well read, whether of religious or civil subjects. Shun fantastic opinions; measure both religion and learning by practice. Reading yourselves and nature, in the dealings and conduct of men, is the truest human wisdom. The spirit of a man knows the things of man, and more true knowledge comes by meditation and just reflection than by reading.

"Keep close to the meetings of God's people; and wait diligently at them, to feel the heavenly life in your hearts, Look for that more than words in ministry, and you will profit most. Above all, look to the Lord, but despise not

instruments, man or woman, young or old, rich or poor, learned or unlearned.

“Avoid discontented persons, unless to inform or reprove them. Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men. Excuse faults in others, own them in yourselves, and forgive them against yourselves, as you would have your heavenly Father and Judge forgive you.

“Love one another. Live as near as you can, visit often, correspond oftener, and communicate with kind hearts to one another, in proportion to what the Lord gives you; and do not be close, nor hoard up from one another as if you had no right or claim in one another, and did not descend of one most tender father and mother. What I write is to yours, as well as you, if God gives you children. And in case a prodigal should ever appear among them, make not his folly an excuse to be strange or close, and so to expose such an one to more evil.

“Love silence, even in the mind; for thoughts are to that, as words to the body, troublesome; much speaking, as much thinking, spends, and in many thoughts, as well as words, there is sin. True silence is the rest of the mind, and is to the spirit what sleep is to the body, nourishment and refreshment.

“Meddle not with government; never speak of it, let others say or do as they please. But read such books of law as relate to the office of a justice, a coroner, sheriff, and constable; also the doctor and student; some book of clerkship, and a treatise of wills, to enable you about your own private business only, or a poor neighbor's. For it is a charge I leave with you and yours, meddle not

with the public, neither business nor money; but understand how to avoid it, and defend yourselves, upon occasion, against it. For much knowledge brings sorrow, and much doing more. Therefore, know God, know yourselves; love home, know your own business and mind it, and you have more time and peace than your neighbors.

“If you incline to marry, then marry your inclination rather than your interest; I mean what you love, rather than what is rich. But love for virtue, temper, education, and person, before wealth or quality, and be sure you are beloved again. In all which, be not hasty, but serious; lay it before the Lord, proceed in his fear, and be you well advised. Seek the Lord for one another; wait upon Him together, morning and evening, in his holy fear, which will renew and confirm your love and covenant; give way to nothing that would in the least violate it; use all means of true endearment, that you may recommend and please one another; remembering that your relation and union is the figure of Christ’s to his church; therefore, let the authority of love only bear sway your whole life.

“If God give you children, love them with wisdom, correct them with affection. Punish them more by their understandings than the rod, and show them the folly, shame, and undutifulness of their faults rather with a grieved than an angry countenance, and you will sooner affect their natures, and with a nobler sense, than a servile and rude chastisement can produce. Breed your children yourselves; I mean as to their morals, and be their bishops and teachers in the principles of conversation; as they are instructed, so they are likely to be qualified, and your

posterity by the precepts and examples which they receive from yours.

“Distrust is of the nature of jealousy, and must be warily entertained upon good grounds. Yet I have often been whispered to in myself of persons and things, at first sight and motion, that hardly ever failed to be true; though by neglecting the sense, or suffering myself to be argued or importuned from it, I have more than once failed of my expectation. Have therefore a most tender and nice regard to those first and unpremeditated sensations.

“Be humble: it becomes a creature that lives not of itself, but breathes in another’s air with another’s breath, and is accountable for every moment of time, and can call nothing its own, but is absolutely a tenant at will of the great Lord of heaven and earth. The fear and love of God beget humility, and humility fits you for God and men. You cannot step well amiss, if this virtue dwell richly in you; for then God will teach you. The humble He teacheth his ways, and they are all pleasant and peaccable to his children.

“From humility springs meekness. It seems to be humility perfectly digested, and from a virtue become a nature. A meek man is one that is not easily provoked, yet easily grieved; not peevish or testy, but soft, gentle, and inoffensive. Oh, blessed will you be, my dear children, if this grace adorn you!

“Patience is an effect of a meek spirit and flows from it. Patience inquires, deliberates, and brings to a mature judgment. Through your civil as well as Christian course, you cannot act wisely and safely without it.

“Show mercy whenever it is in your power, that is, for-

give, pity, and help, for so it signifies. Mercy is one of the attributes of God. It is exalted in Scripture above all his works, and is a noble part of his image in man. Wherefore, I charge you, oppress no body, man or beast. Take no advantage upon the unhappy, pity the afflicted, make their case your own, and that of their wives and poor innocent children the condition of yours, and you cannot want sympathy, forgiveness, nor a disposition to help and succor them to your ability.

“Avoid that great sin of needless expense on your persons and on your houses, while the poor are hungry and naked. Let the moving passage, Matt. xxv. 35 to the end, live in your minds: ‘I was hungry and thirsty, and naked, sick and in prison, and you administered unto me, and the blessing that followed:’ also what He said to another sort, ‘I was hungry and thirsty, and naked, and sick, and in prison, and you administered not unto me;’ for a dreadful sentence follows to the hard-hearted world.

“Liberality or bounty is a noble quality in man, entertained of few, yet praised of all. Wheresoever, therefore, my dear children, liberality is required of you, God enabling you, sow not sparingly nor grudgingly, but with a cheerful mind, and you shall not go without your reward; though that ought not to be your motive. But avoid ostentation, for that is using virtue to vanity, which will run you to profuseness, and that to want; which begets greediness, and that avarice, the contrary extreme. As men may go westward till they come east, and travel till they and those they left behind them stand antipodes, up and down.

“Justice or righteousness is another attribute of God, of

large extent in the life and duty of man. Be just therefore in all things to all. To God as your Creator, render to Him that which is his, your heart, for that acknowledgment He has reserved to himself, by which only you are entitled to the comforts of this and a better life. And if He has your hearts, you have Him for your treasure, and with Him all things requisite to your felicity. Render also to Cæsar that which is his, lawful subjection; not for fear only, but conscience' sake. To parents, a filial love and obedience. To one another, natural affection. To all people, in doing as you would be done by. Hurt no man's name or person. Covet no man's property in any sort.

“I have said but little to you of distributing justice, or being just in power or government, for I should desire you may never be concerned therein, unless it were upon your own principles, and then the less the better, unless God require it from you. But if it ever be your lot, know no man after the flesh; know neither rich nor poor, great nor small, nor kindred, nor stranger; but judge the cause according to your understanding and conscience, and that upon deliberate inquiry and information.

“Integrity is a great and commendable virtue. A man of integrity is a true man, a bold man, and a steady man. He shines brightest in the fire, and his friend hears of him most when he most needs him. He runs with truth, and not with the times; with right, and not with might.

“Gratitude or thankfulness is another virtue of great lustre, and so esteemed with God and all good men. It is indeed a noble sort of justice, and might, in a sense, be referred as a branch to that head, with this difference, that

since benefits exceed justice, the tie is very strong to be grateful, and consequently there is something exceedingly base and reproachful in ingratitude. It is an evangelical virtue, and works as faith does, only by love. - In this it exactly resembles a Christian state. 'We are not under the law, but under grace,' and it is by grace and not by merit 'that we are saved.' But are our obligations the less to God, that he heaps his favors so undeservedly upon us? Surely no.

"Diligence is another virtue useful and laudable among men. It belongs to you, throughout your whole man; be no more sauntering in your minds than in your bodies. Shun diversions, think only of the present business, till that be done. Be busy to purpose, for a busy man and a man of business are two different things. Consider your end well, suit your means to it, and then diligently employ them, and you arrive where you would be, with God's blessing. Temperance I must earnestly recommend to you throughout the whole course of your life; it is numbered amongst the fruits of the Spirit. That which keeps the body low makes the spirit clear, as silence makes it strong. As in diet so in apparel, observe, I charge you, an exemplary plainness. Choose your clothes for their usefulness not the fashion, and for covering and not finery, or to please a vain mind in yourselves or others. They are fallen souls that think clothes can give beauty to man. Bound your desires, learn your wills subjection, take Christ for your example as well as guide. It was He who led and taught a life of faith in Providence, and told his disciples the danger of the cares and pleasures of this world. His sermon upon

the mount is one continued Divine authority in favor of universal temperance.

“I will close with this one most comprehensive passage of the apostle, ‘Let your moderation be known unto all men, for the Lord is at hand.’ Let this excellent, this home and close sentence live in your minds: let it ever dwell upon your spirits, my beloved children, and influence all your actions, aye, your affections and thoughts. It is a noble measure, sufficient to regulate the whole. They that have it are easy as well as safe. No extreme prevails; the world is kept at arm’s end, and such have power over their own spirits, which gives them the truest enjoyment of themselves and what they have.”

XXIV.

AS the object of this work is to give an account of the life and religious labors of William Penn rather than the history of his province, but little mention has been made of the events which occurred there during his absence. Some notice of these will now be in place.

After the recall of Governor Blackwell, in the Twelfth month, 1689, the charge of the government again devolved upon Thomas Lloyd, who, although a man of excellent abilities and unquestionable integrity, does not appear to have possessed either the talents or the influence of William Penn. Difficulties and jealousies arose among the members of the government. The representatives from the province and those from the territories or three lower counties, being supposed to have separate interests to promote, could not cordially unite. The proprietary had taken abundance of pains to form an intimate connection between the province and territories, both in the legislative and executive capacities. But the members from the territories, seeing themselves likely to be outnumbered by those from the province, and consequently thrown into the minority upon all questions in which their separate interests were involved, demanded concessions for their security, which were considered unreasonable, and consequently refused. These jealousies at length, in the early part of 1691, rose to such a height as to occasion a rupture be-

tween them, which resulted in the establishment of two separate governments. To this separation William Penn gave a very reluctant assent. It may fairly be considered as a consequence of his absence, for we find that he retained the confidence and affection of both parties. He had penetration enough to discover the ill consequences likely to result both to his interest and theirs from these animosities. The unpleasant news reached him soon after the commencement of his troubles arising from the accusation of Fuller. He did not fail to apprise his friends in America of his apprehensions on their account, and to urge upon them the necessity of cultivating a better temper; but the people of the territories appear to have been too jealous of their rights and too tenacious of their opinions to be diverted from their purpose by his influence or authority while residing on the other side of the Atlantic.

In 1691 the province of Pennsylvania was agitated in a manner which must have caused greater pain to the sensitive mind of William Penn than the dissensions between the province and territories. The latter arose from questions of worldly interest; but the new disturbance arose in the bosom of his own Society. George Keith, who for between twenty and thirty years had been an approved member and minister in the Society, became about that time a subject of much concern to his friends. He began to differ with them on points of discipline, proposing alterations which Friends were not free to adopt. Finding his influence in the Society less than he seems to have supposed due to his talents and service, he gave way to a captious and acrimonious spirit. He began to question

the soundness of the ministers on some doctrinal points, and falling under the government of his passions rather than his understanding, indulged in harsh and vituperative language towards Friends of the fairest character.

This opposition to Friends was not confined to questions of doctrine or discipline, but extended to the measures of civil government. A large part of the original settlers in Pennsylvania being of the same religious profession with the founder, many of the executive and judicial offices were exercised by members of this Society. George Keith indulged his spleen by representing the conduct of these Friends in bringing robbers to justice as a violation of their peace principles. His opposition to the measures and officers of the government rendered him at length an object of judicial inquiry. He and another were presented by the grand jury of Philadelphia as the authors of a defamatory publication; for which, on conviction, they were fined five pounds each, but the fines were not levied.

News of the disturbances occasioned by him and his party were soon carried to the mother country; and those who were inimical to Friends, the province, or the proprietary took care to circulate them with the usual exaggerations. The account of his trial was circulated with such coloring as to give it the appearance of a religious persecution. It was industriously reported at court, Westminster Hall, and the Parliament house, and excited much odium against William Penn and the Society of Friends. It was laid hold of as an evidence of their unfitness for the exercise of political power, and William Penn himself does not appear to have approved of this prosecution. The magistrates published a declaration exculpating themselves

from the charge of religious persecution, showing that they had not proceeded against George Keith and his adherents without ample provocation, and giving an opinion that such conduct, if not restrained, tended to sedition and the subversion of the existing government.

Although King William seemed to have entertained a friendship for William Penn, yet the general complexion of his court was averse to the adherents of James; and this aversion to the political friends of the exiled monarch would naturally extend to his personal friends also, of which number William Penn was avowedly one. This circumstance, together with the exaggerated reports which were circulated respecting the disorders and maladministration existing in the province and territories, prevailed with the king and council to adopt the resolution of depriving William Penn of his authority there. In pursuance of this resolution, a commission was issued, bearing date the 21st of October, 1692, to Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, authorizing him to assume the government of Pennsylvania and the territories thereto belonging. This, as far as can be ascertained, was a simple act of power, without even the color of law or legal procedure. In the commission no notice was taken of William Penn or the charter of Charles II.

The commission of Governor Fletcher was not received by him until the spring of the following year, at which time he notified Thomas Lloyd of his appointment, and soon afterwards repaired to Philadelphia to engage in the concerns of his new government. Official information of the change was not given to the constituted authorities of Pennsylvania by the king yet upon the arrival of Colonel

Fletcher the government was surrendered to him without opposition ; but Friends who held the offices of magistrates generally refused to accept from him the renewal of their commissions. It is not probable that the government at home gave William Penn notice of their proceedings, and he was probably ignorant of them till the information reached him from the western side of the Atlantic.

The administration of Governor Fletcher was not marked by any event of such permanent interest as to demand particular recital. He appears to have been, or at least to have become, convinced that the exclusion of William Penn from the government was an unjust assumption of power, and that his own exercise of that authority was likely to be of very short duration.

In the Twelfth month, 1694, William Penn wrote to Robert Turner at Philadelphia :

“ I do beseech thee by our ancient acquaintance, by thy gravity and age in the truth, thy love for the poor country, and, above all, for the truth’s sake, to be the means of a better understanding among you thereaway, both as to church and state. The more I hear of your animosities, the sad effects of them upon the place, the contempt it brings upon the country, and the irreparable injury it is to me and my poor children, yea, upon yourselves and posterity, methinks should prevail. I can say no more, only my love to thee and thine and son and daughter, and entreat George Keith, with my love, by the same motives, in my name, to the same end and purpose ; and God Almighty modify and dispose all hearts to the ancient, tender, blessed unity, that his peace may be with you, and

your enemies may not, as now they do, triumph over you all and the holy profession you make. I am the more earnest with you because I am thought by several to have too much encouraged your George Keith, etc., by my letters. I am for patience, forbearance, long-suffering, and all true moderation; but I abhor contention, doubtful disputations, divisions, etc. Oh, that the Spirit of God may rule and overrule our spirits, or all we have to say for God can never glorify Him; it is his own that praise and serve Him. I could wish my own concerns there were in a better way, but of that no more now. I yet hope in the Lord to see you again, and that not long first. Farewell.

“Thy real, well-wishing friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

In the year 1694 William Penn was restored to the government, of which he had been unjustly divested, by letters-patent, dated the 20th of August. In this document the disorders assigned as the cause of the royal assumption of authority there are attributed to the absence of the proprietor. An intimation, at least, is given that his prudence and authority, if present, would have prevented the disorders complained of.

Thomas Lloyd, who was during several years the deputy of William Penn in the government of Pennsylvania, having died in the Seventh month, 1694, the appointment, upon William Penn's restoration, was conferred upon William Markham, who held it till the arrival of the Governor himself in 1699. Little remarkable seems to have occurred under his administration to attract the historian's notice.

The following passages are from a letter from William Penn to Friends in Pennsylvania :

“BRISTOL, 24th of Ninth month, 1694.

“DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:—My ancient love without reserve salutes and embraces you in the sense of that which has been the root of our fellowship, and of all God’s people since the world began, in which the Lord preserve us to the end.

“By this you will understand that by the good providence of God I am restored to my former administration of government, which I hope will be some relief and comfort to you that have been exercised by the late interruption upon us. That things are not just now put into that posture as you may reasonably desire you must not take amiss, for neither will the straitness of the times nor the circumstances we are under to the lords of the plantations permit another method at this time. And as soon as I can make my way to that which is as much my inclination as yours (and which I hope to do in a short time), depend upon it I shall do my utmost to make you entirely easy. Accept this part of the goodness of God and wait for the rest.

“We must creep where we cannot go; and it is as necessary for us, in the things of this life, to be wise as to be innocent. A word to the wise is enough. My return will, I hope, put an end to all our civil griefs, which at least I long for, not for any worldly advantage, but to discharge a conscience to God and to you, and I hope that shall singly be the mark and rule of the remainder of my life, both in this and all other things that may attend it.

“You know, I believe, as well as I, what has been a main obstacle and is still, of which S. J. can be more particular, to whom I have opened myself that he may do so to you, and whose integrity, I think, ought, with reason, to be unquestionable to us both. I cannot tell you here through what difficulties we are come where we are, and I hope you will be sensible of it, and from thence satisfied, if not pleased. Pray be careful that the charter be strictly observed, and vice and impiety diligently suppressed.”

In the Sixth month, 1699, William Penn, with his wife and family, embarked for Pennsylvania in the ship *Canterbury*; and from on board, while lying at the Isle of Wight, he addressed a farewell epistle to his friends wherever scattered in England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, or other parts of Europe, of which the following is part:

“And now, my dear friends, whom I know and love, and you also whom I truly love, though I do not know personally, since it has pleased the good and all-wise God to order my course from you, so that I cannot visit you, as I have often desired before I left you, this therefore is to be my brotherly farewell unto you. And surely my soul is bowed in humble petitions to Israel’s God, the true and living and powerful God, that it may be well with you all here and forever. Though God has appeared to us, and given us many and undeniable testimonies that it was He, and not another, who reached our hearts, and touched our consciences, and brought us to confession, yea, and forsaking, too, of that which offended Him, in great measure, blessed be his name, yet we are not to stop, or take up our rest here; we must

watch still, pray still, fight still, that good fight of faith, till we have overcome the enemy of our souls. And even then must we watch and pray, and that to the end of our days; that we may not lose that crown of glory which God, the righteous judge, shall give to all those that love his appearance, overcome, and persevere to the end. For be assured we shall reap if we faint not; but we shall faint, if we wait not upon God, who alone is the strength of his people.

“God is not wanting: He who long stood at the door of our hearts, under our impenitency in times past, till his locks were wet with the dew, and his hair with the drops of the night, till we were wakened out of our carnal security, and came to judgment in ourselves, unto unfeigned repentance, to be sure He is not weary of waiting to be gracious now to his poor people; especially if they are poor in spirit, and hungering and thirsting after righteousness.

“And though Balaams there are, who may be hired by the Balaks of our age, to curse our Israel-family of God, who knows but even some of these may yet live to say, before they die, ‘How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob!’ ‘How pleasant is thy dwelling-place, O Israel!’ But then, friends, we must keep our tents, we must be a retired and a peculiar people, and dwell alone. We must keep above the world, and clear of the spirit of it, and those many trifles, cares, and troubles that abound in it.

“It is in Christ ye have peace, in the world is the trouble; keep therefore in Him who has called himself, and we have found Him so, the way, Truth, and life; and you shall live, because He lives: He the root, you the branches, by whom you will be kept green and fruitful, bringing forth the fruits and graces of the Holy Spirit in all your con-

verse and commerce, that it may be seen and said, God is with you and amongst you. Oh, let humility, charity, meekness, and self-denial shine amongst you! so will you come to sit, as did the primitive Christians, in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, and be preserved through the noise, snares, and hurry of this present evil world.

“But the condition of some, who pretend to follow Christ, yet are afar off, affects my spirit.

“Oh! my dear friends, let me prevail with you, in this my farewell to you, to turn your minds inward, and wait to feel your Redeemer, and meet Him in the way of his righteous judgments; for there is no redemption but through judgment, nor conversion but through righteousness. Come and be baptized by Christ: He will baptize you with his fire and Holy Ghost. So will you come to find your interest in Christ, as you feel his workmanship and interest in and over you. And as you thus come to be related to Christ, the heavenly Head, by knowing Him to be head in you, so will you come to be related to his body, the church, and see your proper membership and service therein; which I pray God effect, to his glory and your comfort.

“And now to the whole family and flock of God, in this European part of the world, of the same communion, according to the dispensation of God, be they high or low, young or old, rich or poor, wise or simple, strong or weak, male or female, bond or free, I send this parting salutation, of my most dear love in the Truth; beseeching you all to have me and mine in your remembrance, not only when upon the mighty waters, but when in the solitary deserts of America, if it please the Lord to bring us safe thither.

“I must leave you, but I can never forget you; and suffer me to say that, to my power, I have from the first endeavored to serve you and my poor country too, and that at my own charges, with an upright mind, however misunderstood and treated by some whom I heartily forgive. Accept you my services, and ever love and remember, my dear friends and brethren, your old, true, and affectionate friend, brother and servant, in Christ Jesus,
WILLIAM PENN.”

The certificate which he bore from Friends at home is as follows:

“From our Monthly Meeting held at Horsham, Old England,
14th of Fifth month, 1699.

“To the churches of Christ in Pennsylvania, and to all the faithful Friends and brethren unto whom this may come. In the covenant of life and fellowship of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the unity of the one Eternal Spirit of our God, we dearly salute you; most earnestly desiring your everlasting prosperity in the blessed Truth.

“Now, dear Friends and brethren, whereas our worthy friend and elder, William Penn, did acquaint our Monthly Men’s Meeting with his intended voyage into his province of Pennsylvania, and although we are right sensible that he needeth no letter of recommendation from us to pass into his own country, yet, at his request, and for the good order’s sake that God hath established in his church and amongst his people, and for the sincere love we bear to our well-esteemed friend, we could do no less than give this small token of our unity and communion with him,

as a testimony for him and his service in the church of Christ; wherein he hath been a worthy and blessed instrument in the hand of the Lord, both in his ministry and conversation, and hath always sought the prosperity of the blessed truth, and peace and concord in the church of Christ; and hath walked amongst us in all humility, godly sincerity, and true brotherly love, to our great refreshment and comfort. Who hath, with much labor and great travail, on all occasions endeavored the defence of truth against its opposers, and the preservation of true unity and good order in the church of Christ. So, in the unity of the one Eternal Spirit, which is the bond of true peace, we take our leave of him with earnest breathings and supplications to the great God, whom the winds and seas obey, that He would mercifully be pleased to go along with him, and conduct him by the angel of his divine presence to his desired port, and preserve him to the end of his days, and in the end that he may receive an immortal crown, and be bound up in the bundle of life amongst them that have turned many to righteousness, who shine as the sun in the firmament of God's eternal power, forever and ever, amen."

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XXV.

THE Canterbury was three months on the voyage to Philadelphia. James Logan, in a letter to William Penn, Jr., the only surviving son of Gulielma Penn, gives an account of his father's reception. James Logan was William Penn's secretary as well as steadfast friend and wise counsellor. He was a high-toned gentleman, too unbending in his integrity to be universally popular. He had a fine mind, and was devoted to literary and scientific tastes and pursuits. He became Secretary of the Province, for some time President of the Council, and afterwards Chief Justice.

David Lloyd, who is referred to in the letter, was a Friend, a man of ability as a lawyer, of good private character, but a persistent disturber of the peace in the councils of the province, and, as the professed upholder of popular rights, was an unscrupulous leader of weaker minds in opposition to the proprietary and the best measures of the government.

Colonel Quarry was a member of the Church of England, the admiralty judge appointed by the Crown, and therefore independent of the proprietary. He was his pertinacious opponent for a long time. He disliked his views in regard to war, the use of oaths, and the position in Pennsylvania of the Established Church of England, and, as a leading member of a party which sympathized

with him, gave great annoyance to William Penn and his friends.

James Logan to William Penn, Jr.

“PHILADELPHIA, Seventh month, 25th, 1700.

“The highest terms I could use would hardly give you an idea of the expectation and welcome that thy father received from the most of the honester party here. Friends generally concluded that after all their troubles and disappointments, this province now scarce wanted anything more to render it completely happy. The faction that had long contended to overthrow the settled constitution of the government received an universal damp, yet endeavored what mischief they could by speaking whispers, that the proprietary could not act as governor without the king’s approbation, and taking an oath as obliged by act of Parliament; but that in a great measure soon blew over. Colonel Quarry, judge, and John Moore, advocate of the admiralty, the two ringleaders, went down to the water-side among the crowd to receive the Governor at his landing, who not seeming to regard the very submissive welcome they gave him, and taking notice of an old acquaintance that stood by them, expected nothing but almost as open hostility from the proprietary as they were at before with Colonel Markham, especially having heard that copies of Colonel Quarry’s letters to the admiralty at home against the Governor were also brought over.

“Directly from the wharf the Governor went to his deputy’s, paid him a short formal visit, and from thence, with a crowd attending, to meeting, it being about three o’clock on First-day afternoon, where he spoke on a double

account to the people, and praying, concluded it; from thence to Edward Shippen's, where we lodged for about a month.

“ For two or three days the Governor seemed to admire at Colonel Quarry's distance, and perceiving that he was not like to come pay a civil visit as might be expected, sent me to him with an inviting compliment, with which he presently complied, and entered into a very familiar conversation with the Governor, who endeavored to make it appear that he would treat all parties with equal civility and regard in this province that were not directly injurious to him; confessed he believed there was occasion given for the complaint that went home; blamed the mal-administration of affairs in some particulars relative to the king, and resolved to have a hearing of the whole matter before himself and council. The two persons chiefly struck at by Quarry was the Lieutenant-Governor, and David Lloyd, Attorney-General; a man very stiff in all his undertakings, of a sound judgment and a good lawyer, but extremely pertinacious and somewhat revengeful. He, at that time, was one of the council, and those mighty wrongs that had been put on the king coming to be debated there, David resolutely defended all that had been done, and too highly opposed the Governor's resolution of composing all by mildness and moderation, and reconciling all animosities by his own intervention, which he thought the only advisable expedient to put an end to those differences that had cost him so much trouble. This soon created some small misunderstanding. Several of the most noted Friends were involved more or less in David's business, and though troubled at his stiffness, yet wished him in

the right, because the most active enemy and assiduous counsellor against the other party, who on all occasions would be glad, they thought, of their utter ruin. His obstinacy the Governor could by no means brook; he could not but think there was more deference and consideration due to his character and station. The other knew not what it was to bend, he was engaged in the cause, and would stand or fall by it, offering to plead it at Westminster Hall. But the Governor, who was most sensible of the pulse of the court and affairs in general at home, knew this course would never take, and therefore was sometimes warm enough to inveigh highly against past proceedings, not sparing several in express words that were concerned in them, and laying open in large discourse what would be the consequence if they took not some more effectual ways to satisfy superiors at home, who, perhaps, would be very well pleased with any occasion, by whatsoever hand administered, to wrench the government out of the proprietor's hands and throw it on the king.

“Friends’ love to the Governor was great and sincere; they had long mourned for his absence and passionately desired his return. He, they firmly believed, would compose all their difficulties and repair all that was amiss.”

At a meeting of the council, William Penn said to them:

“FRIENDS:—Though this be a colony of nineteen years’ standing, and not inferior to any of its age and establishing, yet we have much to do to make a free constitution and the courts of justice therein. There are in it some

laws which may be accounted obsolete, others hurtful, others imperfect, that will need improvement; and it will be requisite to make some new ones. We cannot go too slowly to make them, nor too fast to execute them when made, and that with diligence and discretion. You, friends, are the people's choice and my council. You will see what laws are fit to be left out, and what are fit to be made; and you, with me, are to prepare and propose them. I say this the rather, because of a false notion some have got, that because you are my council, therefore you are not the people's representatives. The ablest men have always been chosen to be of the council to prepare the laws, and the assembly are to consent to them. Though two bodies, yet are we but one power—the one prepares, the other consents. Friends, if in the constitution by charter there be anything that jars, alter it. If you want a law for this or that, prepare it; I advise you not to trifle with government; I wish there were no need of any; but since crimes prevail, government is made necessary by man's degeneracy. Government is not an end, but a means; he who thinks it to be an end, aims at profit, to make a trade of it; but he who thinks it to be a means, understands the true end of government. Friends, away with all parties, and look on yourselves, and on what is good for all as a body politic; first as under the king and crown of England; and next as under me by letters-patent from that crown. Study peace and be at unity. Provide for the good of all; and I desire to see mine no otherwise than in the public's prosperity. The last assembly made two laws against piracy and forbidden trade. I hear they have not sat easy on the books of some; but

I hope we having therein been careful, we shall have thanks for making them before we had orders so to do; and after so many calumnies and complaints we have been loaded with, I hope those two laws will in some degree wash us clean. What concerns myself I also leave it with you to consider. I have been now nineteen years your proprietor and governor, and have at my charge maintained my deputy, whereby I have much worsted myself and estate. I hope it will be no wonder to any here to hear me make this mention of it."

After the separation of the legislature, William Penn retired to his mansion at Pennsbury, the usual place of his residence.

This estate was situated above Bristol, on the river Delaware. It comprised six thousand acres of land, mostly covered with forests, ten acres only being cleared at this time.

"The mansion-house was seated on a moderate eminence. A broad walk through an avenue of poplars led to the river, descending from the upper terrace to the lower grounds by a flight of steps. The house was surrounded by gardens and lawns, and the more distant woods were opened in vistas looking down the river and upward to the falls. These woods had been laid out in walks, at the proprietary's first visit, and the preservation of the trees is enjoined in several of his letters.

"The proprietor sent out from England walnuts, hawthorns, hazels, fruit-trees, and a great variety of the rarest seeds and roots; while in this country (as we learn from his cash-book) he procured from Maryland several panniers

of trees and shrubs, indigenous in that province, and he directed by his letters that the most beautiful wild-flowers should be transplanted into his gardens."

The affairs of the government must have occupied great part of his care and attention, for many things had got out of order. But there were two subjects which particularly claimed his consideration; viz., the instruction and civilization of the Indians; and the improvement of the negroes. He had devoted considerable attention to the former while in America before, and during his absence the subject does not appear to have been entirely neglected.

At the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, which occurred in the First month, 1700, William Penn opened his concern, which he informed them had long engaged his mind, for the benefit and welfare of the Indians and negroes; pressingly exhorting Friends to discharge their duty to those people; more particularly in relation to the improvement of their minds. Advising that they should, as frequently as possible, enjoy the advantage of attending religious meetings, and receiving instruction in the principles of the Christian religion. In consequence of this communication, a meeting was appointed particularly for the negroes, to be held once a month. Measures were also adopted for having meetings more frequently with the Indians, William Penn taking upon himself the charge of regulating the manner, and procuring interpreters.

It has been mentioned that the three lower counties, in 1691, separated from the province, and that William Penn, then in retirement on account of the accusations of Fuller, was induced to give a reluctant assent to this separation

When the government of the province and territories was conferred upon Colonel Fletcher, he reunited them, apparently without consulting their choice on the subject. The legislative assembly, thus composed of members from the province and territories, was convened at Philadelphia in the Third month, 1700. In the commencement of the session, William Penn sent them information, that as he understood they were not satisfied with the charter which was granted by his deputy in 1696, he was prepared to offer them another. This information was given at the opening of the session, for the double purpose of proving his readiness to oblige them, and of giving time to consider the subject deliberately.

His next object was to secure, by legislative enactments, the improvement in the condition and treatment of the negroes and Indians in the province; which he had previously labored to effect within the limits of his own religious Society. In pursuance of this object, he presented soon afterwards a bill for regulating the morals and marriages of the negroes, and another for the regulation of their trials and punishment, substituting the judgment of the law for the will of the master. A third was also laid before the assembly, for preventing abuses upon the Indians. Of these bills he had the mortification to find the first and last rejected, the reasons for which are not transmitted to us in the history of the time. What portion of the members of the assembly belonged to the Society of Friends is uncertain; but the council of the Governor, consisting altogether of Friends, had united with him in proposing these bills, and the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia had sanctioned the principle of them.

Hence we may very rationally conclude that this rejection was the effect of an influence extraneous to his own Society. The assembly after a short session was dissolved by the Governor.

When William Penn was released from his attendance on the legislature, he took the opportunity of renewing his friendly intercourse with the Indians. For this purpose he visited them in the forests, and received them in return at his mansion at Pennsbury.

Another legislative assembly was convoked in the autumn of the same year, 1700, to meet at Newcastle. One of the objects to which their attention was called by the Governor, was the adjustment of the new charter or frame of government, which the former assembly had left unfinished.

They made, however, very little progress, before the jealousies and surmisings which had formerly rent the territories from the province began to appear. The members from the lower counties, perceiving that the growing population and wealth of the province must inevitably at no distant day render the balance of power very unequal, and fearing or professing to fear that an improper advantage would be taken, demanded that no greater number of representatives should at any subsequent time be sent from the province than from the territories. This proposal being rejected by the provincial members, a separation seemed in danger of taking place. But both parties agreed to consult the Governor upon the subject; and he suggested an expedient, to which they all agreed, viz., that in all legislative acts in which the interests or privileges of the territories were separately involved, the con-

currence of two-thirds of the members from the lower counties, as well as a majority of those from the province, should be required.

This question being settled, another almost immediately arose. It was agreed that provision should be made for defraying the expense of government; but the adjustment of the mode and the proportion to be paid by the different sections was the difficulty. Several plans were proposed and rejected, the members from the territories, and those from the province, uniformly taking opposite sides. As there were then only three counties in the province, this division of their votes produced an exact equilibrium. But again the wisdom and discretion of William Penn brought the contending parties to an agreement.

During the time which William Penn had passed in America, he had applied himself industriously to the affairs of the government; endeavoring to rectify the disorders which had crept into the province; always preferring the good of the country and its inhabitants to his own private interest; rather remitting than strictly exacting his lawful revenues; so that under his paternal administration the people of the province were advancing in prosperity and accumulating the necessaries and comforts of life. But the ambition of rulers and the intrigues of their enemies raised another storm, which in a short time separated William Penn forever from his province.

The growing wealth and population of the American colonies began before this time to excite the jealousy of the government at home, and the project appears to have been formed soon after the revolution to purchase the proprietorship of the more important ones, if not of all,

and vest their government in the crown. A bill was at this time actually before the House of Lords, for changing the colonial governments into regal ones. The excuse for this intended assumption of power, was the national advantage to be derived from it on one hand, and the pretended abuses existing among them on the other. The friends of William Penn and others interested in the affairs of Pennsylvania, represented to Parliament the hardship of his case, and solicited a suspension of their proceedings until he could return and answer for himself. Letters were also despatched, giving him information of the measures in progress and urging his immediate return.

Painful as the prospect of abandoning the colony in which he had expected to spend the evening of his day unquestionably was, there appeared no alternative. The experiment which he had attempted, of maintaining a government upon Christian principles, and making the settlement of the country subservient to the civilization of the original inhabitants, was in danger of being totally frustrated. A military government might be reasonably expected in case the bill in question should be completed; and very possibly the barbarous contests with the natives which marked the early settlements in Virginia and New England, would be renewed upon the banks of the Delaware.

Having decided upon a voyage to Europe, William Penn again convened the assembly at Philadelphia, to whom on the 15th of Seventh month he delivered an address, in which he said:

“I cannot think of such a voyage without great reluctance of mind, having promised myself the quietness

of a wilderness, and that I might stay so long at least with you as to render everybody entirely easy and safe. For my heart is among you as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think, and no unkindness or disappointment shall, with submission to God's providence, ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return and settle my family and posterity in it; but having reason to believe I can at this time best serve you and myself on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season, nor tender circumstances of my family, can overrule my inclinations to undertake it.

"Think therefore, since all men are mortal, of some suitable expedient and provision for your safety, as well in your privileges as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatsoever may render us happy by a nearer union of our interests.

"Review again your laws; propose new ones that may better your circumstances, and what you do, do it quickly, remembering that the Parliament sits the end of the next month, and that the sooner I am there the safer I hope we shall be here."

It is not necessary to enter into a detail of the proceedings of this assembly. Suffice it to observe, that the jealousies of the lower counties again appeared, but were so far allayed by the mildness and firmness of the Governor, that the members agreed to proceed with those from the province in the settlement of the business for which they were convened. The charter of privileges was completed and signed, to the general satisfaction of the parties concerned.

The news that William Penn was going to England

soon brought a number of Indians to visit him. Some of these visits were received at Pennsbury, probably before the meeting of the assembly, and one, at least, at Philadelphia, during the session.

John Richardson, who was then in Pennsylvania upon a religious visit, has left us a brief account of an interview between William Penn and the Indians at Pennsbury. The conference was conducted with great sobriety and decorum. One of the chiefs, speaking of their covenants which they were then reviving, told them that they never first broke their covenants with any people; for, striking his hand upon his head, he said they did not make them there; but said, striking his hand on his breast, they made them there. After the proper business was finished, William Penn presented them with some articles of clothing, and before they left him, assured them that if any differences should arise between them and any of his people, it need not be the cause of war; for that justice should be done in such cases; that animosities might be prevented on both sides forever.

Of the visit made during the session of the assembly, but little is now known, though the interview is said to have been very interesting. It appears to have been in the presence of the council.

William Penn told them, the assembly was then about enacting a law, according to the desire of the Indians, to prevent their being abused by the sale of rum among them; and he requested them to unite their utmost efforts with those of the government, to secure its due execution.

Observing to them at the same time, that this was likely to be his last interview with them, at least until his return,

he assured them he had always loved them, and been kind to them, and should always continue so to be, not from policy or to promote his own interest, but from a real affection; and he desired them, in his absence, to cultivate friendship with those whom he should leave in authority behind him; for they would always, in some degree, continue their friendship to them as he had ever done. Lastly, he told them, that he had charged the members of council, and he then repeated the charge, that they should in all respects be kind to them, and entertain them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good-will, as he had always done. The members then promised that they would faithfully observe the charge. Some presents were then made to the Indians, after which they withdrew.

Preparations being made for his voyage, and the vessel nearly ready to sail, he appointed a council of state, consisting of ten persons, of whom Thomas Story was one; he likewise presented the citizens of Philadelphia with a charter, constituting it a city, with the necessary power for its government; and lastly, he constituted Andrew Hamilton, who was sometime governor both of East and West New Jersey, his deputy governor for the province and territories.

On the 31st of Eighth month, 1701, he embarked with his wife and family, and arrived safely at Portsmouth about the middle of the Tenth month following.

At the time of his sailing, Isaac Norris wrote:

“27th 8br. 1701.

“This comes by our proprietor and governor, Penn, who with his family are undertaking this hazardous voy-

age at too hard a season. I earnestly desire and pray for their preservation and safety : him we shall want. The unhappy misunderstandings in some, and unwarrantable opposition in others, have been a block to our plenary comforts in him and his own quiet ; but these things are externals only, our communion in the church sweetens all, and our inward waitings and worship [have] often been a general comfort and consolation ; and in this I take a degree of satisfaction after all, that we part in love ; and some of his last [expressions] in our meeting yesterday were, that 'he looked over all infirmities and outwards, and had an eye to the regions of spirit, wherein was our sweetest tye,' and in true love then he took his leave of us. His excellent wife, and she is beloved by all, (I believe I may say in its fullest extent,) so is her leaving us, heavy and of real sorrow to her friends ; she has carried, under and through all, with a wonderful evenness, humility, and freedom ; her sweetness and goodness have become her character, and are indeed extraordinary."

From on board the ship, he wrote to James Logan :

"I have left thee in uncommon trust, with a singular dependence on thy justice and care. Use thy utmost endeavors to receive all that is due to me. Pay off all my notes and orders on thee, settle my accounts, discharge all my debts honorably but carefully, make rent-rolls, draw up an estimate of my estate, and of what may be raised from it, which send over to me as speedily as possible, for it may be of great use to me. Give my dear love to all my friends, who I desire may labor to soften angry spirits, and to reduce them to a sense of their duty."

XXVI.

THERE can be no doubt that William Penn, upon his arrival in England, paid all the needful attention to the subject which occasioned his voyage; yet we do not find that any considerable efforts on his part were required. The attention of the government was sufficiently engrossed by objects of greater interest to the nation, and the death of the king, which occurred on the 8th of First month, 1701-2, produced a sensible change in the situation of William Penn in relation to the government at home. His well-known friendship for the unfortunate and bigoted James, as we have had ample reason to observe, without and participation in the arbitrary measures of the court, rendered him an object of suspicion during the reign of William. But upon the accession of Ann, the second daughter of James, those jealousies disappeared, and he became once more an acceptable visitor at court. Amidst these changes of influence and power, the bill for converting the colonial into regal governments was suffered to fall into oblivion.

But another was enacted, requiring the royal assent to the appointment of deputy governors. This indicates a disposition to render them more dependent upon the crown than they had hitherto been. It was probably with a view of being at hand to counteract any measures on the part of the government injurious to the interests of the colo-

nies, that William Penn took lodgings for himself and family at Kensington, where he appears to have resided during the year 1702.

Frequent communications passed between William Penn and James Logan which give an insight into both private and public affairs. From one of the first letters after William Penn's arrival in England, it is evident that the habits of his son William, a young man of fine talents and pleasing address, were causing him great anxiety. He had married before his father's family went to America, and therefore did not go with them. It was now in prospect to send him to America, probably in order to break off hurtful associations. William Penn writes:

“My son (William) shall hasten ; possess him, go with him to Pennsbury, advise him, contract and recommend his acquaintance. He has promised fair. I know he will regard thee. But thou wilt see that I have purchased the mighty supplies at a dear rate. God forgive those wretched people who have misused me so, and preserve my spirit over it. Pennsylvania has been a dear Pennsylvania to me all over, which few consider, and with me lay to heart. Be discreet. He has wit, kept the top company, and must be handled with much love and wisdom ; and urging the weakness and folly of some behaviors, and the necessity of another conduct from interest and reputation, will go far. And get Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Isaac Norris, Phineas Pemberton, Thomas Masters, and such persons, to be soft, and kind, and teaching. It will do wonders with him, and he is conquered that way. Pretends much to honor, and is but over-generous by half,

and yet sharp enough to get to spend. He cannot well be put off. All this keep to thyself."

William Penn writes to James Logan :

"LONDON, 21st of Fourth month, 1702.

... "Never had poor man my task, with neither men nor money to assist me. I therefore strictly charge thee that thou represent to Friends there, that I am distressed for want of supply ; that I am forced to borrow money, and add debts to debts, instead of paying them off. Besides, my uncomfortable distance from my family, and the unspeakable fatigue and vexation of following attendance, drafts of answer, conferences, council's opinions, hearings, etc., with the charge that follows them, guineas melting, four, five, six a week, and sometimes as many in a day. My wife hitherto has been maintained by her father, whence she is coming next week to Worminghurst on my daughter's account, in likelihood to marry. I have been more sensibly touched for the honor of the country's administration than for myself.

"I have had the advice of some of the wisest and greatest men in England, that wish me well, about bargaining with the crown for my government. They all say, 'Stay awhile, be not hasty;' yet some incline to a good bargain."

James Logan writes to William Penn :

"PHILADELPHIA, 17th of Seventh month, 1702.

"We are sensible of thy great exigencies for want of sufficient supplies there, but I can see no better way to

remedy it than those I am upon. When thy son arrives, he will be a witness of our circumstances, and that I pretend nothing for the sake of excuse, but what we too feelingly experience to be true.

“I cannot advise against a bargain with the crown, if to be had on good terms for thyself and the people. Friends here, at least the generality of the best informed, think government at this time so ill fitted to their principles, that it renders them very indifferent in that point, further than that they earnestly desire thy success in vindicating the country’s reputation, and that they may not fall a spoil to such base hands as now seek our ruin. Privileges, they believe, such as might be depended on for a continuance both to thee and them, with a moderate governor, would set much more at ease, and give thee an happier life as proprietor only, than thou hast yet had as governor. Besides, that it would exempt thee from the solicitude they are under, both from their own impotence and the malicious watchfulness of enemies. . . .”

William Penn writes to James Logan :

“24th of Twelfth month, 1702.

. . . “I never was so low and so reduced. For Ireland, my old principal verb, has hardly any money.

“I have great interest, as well as my son’s settlement to deduct, with three or four per cent. tax here and twenty or twenty-six per cent. exchange from Ireland to England, to answer. I therefore earnestly urge supplies, and by the best methods and least hazardous.

“I know thy ability, I doubt not thy integrity, I desire

thy application and health, and, above all, thy growth in the feeling of the power of Truth, for that fits and helps us above all other things, even in business of this world—clearing our heads, quickening our spirits, and giving us faith and courage to perform.

“I am sorry to find by thine, thou art so much oppressed in thy station, and wish I could make it lighter. If my son will apply himself to business, he may, by the authority of his relationship, etc., render the post easier to thee. I know the baseness of the temper of too many of the people thou hast to deal with, which calls for judgment and great temper, with some authority.”

Governor Hamilton's administration was terminated by his death in about two years. The contest between the three upper and three lower counties, which finally resulted in the dissolution of their union, was kept up during the whole time, and his efforts to bring them into agreement failed of any effect.

His successor was John Evans, described by William Penn, in writing to James Logan, as “a young man, not above six and twenty, but sober and sensible; the son of an old friend that loved me not a little. He will be discreet, advisable, and especially by the best of our friends.” He was accompanied by William Penn, Jr., whom his father was desirous to interest in the business of the province, and thus withdraw him from the dissipations of Europe. William Penn writes to James Logan:

“Take him away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities, as well

as temper his resentments, and inform his understanding, since all depends upon it, as well for his future happiness as, in measure, the poor country's." . . .

"Watch him, outwit him, and honestly overreach him for his good. Fishings, little journeys (as to see the Indians, etc.) will divert him. And interest Friends to bear all they can, and melt towards him, at least civilly, if not religiously. He will confide in thee. If S. Carpenter, Richard Hill, and Isaac Norris could gain his confidence, and tender Griffith Owen—not the least likely, for he sees and feels—I should rejoice. Pennsylvania has cost me dearer in my poor child than all other considerations. The Lord pity and spare in his great mercy. I yet hope."

James Logan writes to William Penn after his arrival:

"Thy son's voyage hither I hope will prove to the satisfaction of all and to his, and therefore thy, happiness. It is his stock of excellent good nature that, in a great measure, has led him out into his youthful sallies when too easily prevailed on; and the same, I hope, when seasoned with the influence of his prevailing better judgment, with which he is well stored, will happily conduct him into the channel of his duty to God, himself, and thee. He is very well received, and seldom-fails of drawing love where he comes. 'Tis his good fortune here to be withdrawn from those temptations that have been too successful over his natural sweetness and yielding temper with his associates."

James Logan writes to William Penn.

"I lie under a great hardship for want of a more full adjustment of matters in relation to his (Wm. Penn, Jr.) supplies here. Before he left England he threw himself, he says, entirely upon thy generosity, and therefore resents it the more nearly when I am not able to come up to his expectations, which, though far from extravagant, are much above the limits set me. The directions given me can by no means satisfy him, nor answer what is thought suitable to the presumptive heir of the province, upon his first appearance in it, even by the most reasonable. He expresses himself dutifully to thee, but notwithstanding it forces him on thoughts that render his visit of less service to him."

William Penn writes to James Logan :

"BRISTOL, 2d 8br., 1704.

. . . "If my son proves very expensive, I cannot bear it; but must place to his account what he spends above moderation, while I lie loaded with debt and interest here; else I shall pay dear for the advantage his going thither might entitle me to, since the subscribers and bondsmen cannot make ready pay, according to what he has received for his land there. So excite his return or send for his family to him, since I cannot come to him as soon as I wish. For if he bring not wherewith to pay his debts here, his creditors will fall foul upon him most certainly. . . .

"I have done when I tell thee to let my poor son know that, if he be not a very good husband, I must sell there as well as here; and that all he spends is disabling me so

far to clear myself of debt, and that he will pay for it at the long run. Do it in the friendliest manner, that he may co-operate with me to clear our encumbered estate and honors."

James Logan writes to William Penn, Ninth month 28, 1704 :

"The Governor (Evans), upon the queen's letter, thought himself obliged to establish a militia. It was proposed that all who would enlist should be exempted from all services of the wards, as watching, constables, etc. Upon this those of the church party who desired to discourage a militia refused to watch at all. Not long after this, the watch meeting with a company at Enoch Story's, a tavern in which some of the militia officers were, a difference arose that ended with some rudeness. Next night, the watch coming again to the same place, and thy son happening to be in company, there was something of a fray, which ended with the watch's retiring. This, with all the persons concerned in it, was taken notice of the next mayor's court, and not any regard had to names. The indignity, however, put upon the eldest son of the founder is looked upon by most moderate men to be very base, and by him (the Governor) and all others not quite of their party is deeply resented as a thing exceedingly provoking." . . . "He thought himself obliged no longer to keep to any measures with such as, making more than ordinary pretences to religion, could so little observe any rule of decency with him or gratitude and respect for their founder. Notwithstanding this, he still

expresses such a tender regard to his father's profession that nothing can disturb him more than to hear it unkindly treated."

In another letter he says: "Let me take the freedom to request thee to be very tender to him in thy resentment, lest those he has already conceived, from the abuses put upon him, should by any addition precipitate him into ruin."

There seems reason to believe that some of those in authority suffered their opposition to the proprietary's government to make them willing to weaken his position by making his son's deficiencies conspicuous.

Isaac Norris writes respecting this affair: "William Penn, Jr., is quite gone off from Friends. He being in company with some extravagants that beat the watch at Enoch Story's was presented with them, which unmannerly and disrespectful act (as he takes it) gives him great disgust, and seems a waited occasion. He talks of going home in the Jersey man-of-war next month. I wish things had been better or he had never come."

Having sold his manor of 7000 acres on the Schuylkill (now Norristown) for £850, he left the country.

William Penn writes to James Logan:

"LONDON, 16th of Eleventh month, 1704.

"A melancholy scene enough upon my poor child. Pennsylvania began it by my absence here, and there it is accomplished, with expense, disappointment, ingratitude, and poverty.

"The Lord uphold me, under these sharp and heavy

burdens with his free Spirit. I should have been glad of an account of his expenses and more of a rent-roll, if I must perish with gold in my view but not in my power. To have neither supplies nor a reason of credit here is certainly a cruel circumstance. I want to know what I have to stand upon and help myself with. He [his son] is my greatest affliction, for his soul's and my country's and family's sake. . . .

“Nor did thou send me word what my son sold his manor for; but after his arrival he drew a bill for £10 to ride two hundred miles home, and which he performed in two days and a night. I met him by appointment between this and Worminghurst. We stayed but three hours together. See how much more easily the bad Friends' treatment of him stumbled him from the blessed truth, than those he acknowledges to be good ones could prevail to keep him in possession of it, from the prevailing ground in himself to what is levity more than what is retired, circumspect, and virtuous.”

James Logan writes to William Penn :

“Tenth month, 1704.

“The return of thy son and the representation that he brings, with the unhappy effects those have had upon him, accompanied, at the same time, with that unparalleled piece of baseness from D. L., will soon put thee (I doubt not) on measures for thy ease from such an accumulation of troubles. I cannot foresee any probability of being brought into regular order again till under the crown; and it seems all owing to those unhappy charters, which,

being designed as favors, are made use of by ill men as tools for mischief.

"It seems as if we were all in a ferment, and whatever was impure among the whole people rose in its filth to the top. I wish we may ever be skimmed, so as to leave anything pure behind. I am fully convinced, at least, that prudence and counsel are much in vain, unless they are made the instruments of the only guiding power of all human things."

James Logan had before written to William Penn :

"PHILADELPHIA, 14th Fifth month, 1704.

. . . "This people think privileges their due, and all that can be grasped their native right ; but when dispensed with too liberal a hand, as not restraining licentiousness, may produce their greatest unhappiness. Charters here are in danger of being made of fatal consequence, for some peoples' brains are as soon intoxicated with power as the natives are with their beloved liquor, and as little to be trusted with it. A well-tempered mixture in government is the happiest, the greatest liberty and property ; and commonwealth's men, invested with power, have been known to be the greatest tyrants."

Isaac Norris wrote afterwards : "Things in Governor Evans' time ran to a great height between him and the assembly. On his first arrival, and two years after, a niggardly and untoward temper seemed to reign in the assembly against the proprietor and him, his lieutenant, fomented and managed by the arts of some that were

either professed or secret enemies of the proprietor. All his management from the beginning was nicely scanned, and from thence [was] raked together everything that could be thought of as a material for remonstrances and reproaches, dressed up in the most indecent manner. And this was made a pretence to give nothing towards the support of government, but starve the deputy."

James Logan writes to William Penn :

"3d 8br., 1704.

... "David Lloyd being recorder of the city, and likely, in all probability, to be speaker of the next assembly, from his temper so well known, there seems but little good to be anticipated. The generality, however, are honestly and well inclined, and out of the assembly are very good men; but when got together, I know not how, they are infatuated and led by smooth stories. David himself makes as great a profession as any man, but we can see no good effects from it.

"The part thou hast hitherto had to manage in the world will not suffer thee with any honor utterly to desert this people; and, on the other side, I cannot see why thou should neglect thy own interest while no more gratitude is shown thee. Were one man from among us we might, perhaps, be happy; but he is truly a promoter of discord, with the deepest artifice under the smoothest language and pretences. I cannot but pity the poor misled people, who really design honestly, but know not whom to trust for their directors. They are so often told that things want to be mended that at length they are persuaded it is the case, and not knowing how to set about

it themselves, believe that those who can discover the disease are the most capable to direct the proper remedies. I believe in the whole assembly there are not three men that wish ill to thee, and yet I can expect but little good from them.

“I have never been under a greater depression of thought than for these few months past. Thy estates here daily sinking by the country’s impoverishment, with thy exigencies increasing, suffer me not to know what any of the comforts of life are.”

William Penn writes to James Logan :

“——— 1704.

. . . “As difficult as my circumstances are, and as mean a prospect as thou givest me of any supply, yet that hardly troubles me equally to the weakness and worse (I fear) of some of our folks in reference to your government matters. Will they never be wise? These assemblies, held so unwisely, as well as so hazardously, will, in the end, subject the whole to laws made for them in Parliament.

“I am sorry to have such a prospect of charges—two houses and the governor’s salary, my son’s voyage, stay, and return ; and no revenue nor Susquehanna money paid, on which account I ventured my poor child so far from his wife and pretty children, and my own oversight. Oh, Pennsylvania, what hast thou not cost me ! Above £30,000 more than I ever got by it, two hazardous and most fatiguing voyages, my straits and slavery here, and my child’s soul almost ; as I have formerly expressed myself, but I must be short—I shall be further loaded, instead of

his coming being instrumental to relieve me. In short, I must sell all or be undone, and disgraced into the bargain." . . .

William Penn writes to James Logan :

"HYDE PARK, 30th Second month, 1705.

. . . "I can hardly be brought to turn my back entirely upon a place the Lord so specially brought to my hand, and has hitherto preserved against the proud swellings of many waters, both there and here. What with the load of unworthy spirits with you and some not much better here ; with my poor son's going into the army or navy, as well as getting into Parliament, through so many checks and tests upon his morals as well as education ; with the load of debt, hardly to be answered from the difficulty of getting in what I have a right to, of twice their value, which is starving in the midst of bread, my head and heart are filled sufficiently with trouble ; yet the Lord holds up my head, and Job's over-righteous and mistaken friends have not sunk my soul from its confidence in God.

* * * * *

"My son has lost his election, as also the lord-keeper's son-in-law ; but both hope to recover it by proving bribery upon the two that have it, Lord Windsor and Squire Argell. I wish it might turn his face to privacy and good husbandry, if not nearer to us." . . .

This unworthy son of great and good parents afterwards left his wife and children dependent on his father

and lived on the Continent. He died in France, about two years after his father's decease, expressing on his death-bed, it is said, his regret for the "wrongs he had done."

An added source of trial to William Penn was the inconsiderate pressure of his son-in-law, Aubrey, for his wife's portion. James Logan calls him "one of the keenest men living." William Penn, in one of his letters to James Logan, says, "My son-in-law Aubrey grows very troublesome because he gets nothing thence—almost an open break, did I not bear with him extremely;" and again, "I desire thee to hasten all the relief thou canst, both to me and my son Aubrey, of whom I would be clear of all men; he has a bitter tongue, and I wish I had nothing to do with him in money matters."

About this time we learn that he visited the meetings of Friends in the west of England, and had good and effectual service in the ministry. He also wrote a short epistle addressed to his own Society.

"MY DEAR FRIENDS:—Hold all your meetings in that which set them up, the heavenly power of God, both ministers and hearers, and live under it and not above it, and the Lord will give you dominion over that which seeks to draw you again into captivity to the spirit of this world under divers appearances; that the truth may shine through you in righteousness and holiness, in self-denial, long-suffering, patience, and brotherly kindness; so shall you approve yourselves the redeemed of the Lord, and his living witnesses to an evil generation. So prays your friend and brother through the many tribulations that lead to the kingdom of God."

XXVII.

FROM 1705 to 1708, while oppressed by many heavy cares and anxieties of both public and private character, William Penn had the unhappiness to be involved in law-suits with the heirs of Philip Ford, who had been entrusted with the management of his estates in Ireland. Ford was a member of his own religious society, whom he had treated with great kindness, and, supposing him bound by a sense of gratitude, had imprudently trusted to his integrity and had accepted accounts and signed papers presented to him without sufficient examination.

William Penn writes to James Logan :

“28th Tenth month, 1705.

“I offered upon the adjusting the accounts, (against which I have great and equitable exceptions,) that the half should be then presently paid, and the other reasonably secured; and that, as I desired not to be a judge in my own case, I did propose to refer it to Friends of their and my own choosing. Both which (after three years' agitation) they refused. The reason why they will not refer their case, is supposed to be the blackness and injustice of the account, which by chancery they hope to stifle, and have the oppressive sum allowed, being upon security.”

A minute of Devonshire House Meeting, London, declares its disunity with the widow and son and daughter of Philip Ford for having refused to arbitrate the case

according to the "Christian principle and good order" of the Society of Friends, and leaves William Penn "at liberty now to make his defence in law."

James Logan writes to Thomas Callowhill, William Penn's father-in-law :

"13th of 6th mo., 1706.

"I fear we shall be engaged in great perplexities, by reason of that most unfortunate business of Philip Ford. Never was any person more barbarously treated or baited with undeserved enemies. He [William Penn] has been able to foil all attacks from public adversaries; but 'tis his fortune to meet with greatest severities from those that owe most to him. One would think there was almost a commission granted, as against Job, for his trial; for such an accumulation of adversaries has seldom been known to attack a person that so little deserved them. It must be confessed that something of it all is owing to his easiness and want of caution.

"I wish some of those that are acquainted with the more effectual way of transacting such concerns would search into the bottom of it; consider, by the most unbiased advice, the strength of his antagonists, and endeavor to fix on the most effectual means for his security; for, as far as I can gather from the accounts which I have at such a distance, Philip Ford's designs were base and barbarous from the beginning.

"And what an old, cunning, self-interested man, with such intentions, might be capable of doing, when he had so much goodness, open-heartedness, and confidence in his honesty to deal with, is not difficult to imagine."

About the time of the war in Ireland, when William and James were contending for the mastery of the island, Ford made, or professed to have made, considerable advances on William Penn's account. The heavy expenses which the latter had incurred in the management of his province had embarrassed his circumstances, so that instead of paying these advances, he mortgaged his property in Pennsylvania, as security for the debt. But Ford managed to procure an absolute conveyance of the province, and gave an informal defeasance in return. During the life of Ford this transaction remained a secret, but after his death, his executors claimed not only the proprietorship but the government of the province. The latter claim was, however, abandoned, as it was not included in the conveyance. William Penn insisted that the transaction was a mortgage, not a conveyance, and instituted a suit in chancery for opening and liquidating Ford's accounts, whose demand amounted to about twelve thousand pounds sterling. He considered two-thirds of this charge to be unjust, being made up by computing compound interest, and by exorbitant commissions. The chancellor seems to have been convinced that the account was not fairly stated, but the settlements which had been sanctioned at several times by William Penn rendered it improper in his view to open the accounts. While this suit was pending in chancery, the representatives of Ford instituted a suit in the King's Bench for arrears of rent, upon a lease of the province, made by Philip Ford to the proprietary, and obtained a verdict for three thousand pounds. Execution was issued, and an officer sent to arrest William Penn while he was attending a public

meeting for worship. But the bailiff permitted him to stay the meeting, upon the assurance of Henry Gouldney and others that he would surrender himself when it was over. This was accordingly done, and he in consequence was obliged to live for nine months within the rules of the Fleet. A compromise was at length effected, and the sum of seven thousand pounds accepted in lieu of the sums demanded. The money was chiefly advanced by his friends, and a mortgage on the province for six thousand six hundred pounds was given as security. The imposition practised by this unworthy confidant may be in part computed from the fact, that he received seventeen thousand pounds of William Penn's money, and disbursed on his own account only sixteen thousand pounds, and yet brought his employer twelve thousand pounds in debt for interest and services.

After this painful affair was adjusted, he again travelled through some of the western parts of England, in the work of the ministry, as his health and strength would admit. He likewise visited the counties of Berks, Buckingham, Surrey, and other places.

About this time we find the first notice of the failure of his physical powers. The numerous perplexities through which he had recently passed, together with necessary decays of nature, were producing their visible effects on his once athletic constitution. The air in the vicinity of London was found unfavorable to his declining powers, and he removed to Rushcomb, in Buckinghamshire, where he resided for the rest of his life.

The following letter from William Penn to Friends in Pennsylvania was written while imprisoned at the Fleet.

“LONDON, 28th Seventh month, 1708.

“DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN.—My ancient love, if you can believe it, reaches to you as in times past and years that are gone; even in the Divine root and principle of love and life that made us near to one another, above all worldly considerations; where our life, I hope, is hid with Christ in God, our Father; so that when He appears we shall also appear with Him in glory; and in the meantime through us, to those that love and wait for his appearance, as the desire of nations, that we may glorify God, his, and our everlasting Father, in our bodies, souls, and spirits, in temporal and eternal affairs. . . .

“Oh, my dear friends, let all below this keep on the left hand; and wait to feel those blessed things, to inherit the right hand; and in faith and courage cry aloud to the Lord, for his renewing and refreshing power, that may revive and reform his work upon your hearts and minds; and our humility, meekness, patience, self-denial, and charity, with a blameless walking, may appear and manifest the work of God upon our hearts, to those that are without; which is not only the way to bring up the loiterers, and gather in the careless ones to their duty, but fetch home and bring in the strangers and the very enemies of the blessed Truth, to confess and acknowledge that God is in you and for you of a truth.

“I earnestly beseech you to assist James Logan, and who else the trustees for the payment of the money here advanced shall nominate, not only to get in, but turn into money, the best you are able, that I may come honorably to you and speedily, which I hope to do, as soon as you and these Friends here think fit. Let me have this

pledge of your love, and it shall be a lasting one, to advise and assist you for the expediting of the matter; for be assured I long to be with you; and if the Lord bring me and mine there, I hope not to return on almost any terms, at least not without your advice and satisfaction; for care of you, and settling plantations for my poor minors; for planters, God willing, they shall be in their father's country, rather than great merchants in their native land; and to visit Friends throughout the continent, at least, their chiefest business.

“In the first love I leave you and yours, and all the Lord's people amongst you; my family and affairs, to the merciful providence and orderings of our great and gracious God, that welcomed us in poor America with his excellent love and presence, and will, I hope, once more; and remain your loving friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

The administration of Governor Evans was an unhappy one. From a number of his actions which are recorded, there can be no doubt that the proprietary was misinformed of his character, or that his character underwent an unfavorable change after his appointment. There is also reason to believe that the influx of emigrants, of a class less moral and religious than those who accompanied William Penn in 1682, had somewhat deteriorated the general tone of morals in the province.

After a turbulent administration of about five years, Governor Evans was removed and Charles Gookin appointed in his place.

Governor Gookin was a man of years and experience, from whose temper and abilities considerable hopes were

entertained of a satisfactory and harmonious administration. He arrived at Philadelphia on the first of First month, 1709, when the assembly for the province was in session.

Dissensions soon arose between the Governor and the assembly, which greatly impeded the public business, and were the source of much painful anxiety to William Penn. James Logan, secretary of the province, the firm and faithful friend of the proprietary, became an object of manifest aversion to the assembly. They even issued a warrant signed by the speaker, for apprehending and committing him to jail, when on the eve of embarking for England, but a supersedeas from the Governor prevented its execution. He prosecuted his voyage, and proved the integrity of his conduct to the satisfaction of the proprietor, his own religious society, and the civil authorities.

A letter of Isaac Norris, written soon after, says :

“Most of these sticklers in assembly are either Keitheans, or such as stand loose from Friends, who have other ends than what is penetrated into by some pretty honest, but not knowing men.”

Three years before this, James Logan had written to William Penn : “It is the very leaven of George Keith left among the people at his separation, and now fermenting up again ; and these proceedings are contrary to the minds of honest Friends.”

The despatches which reached William Penn through the instrumentality of James Logan, or through other channels, gave him full knowledge of the turbulent spirit which distracted the province. He addressed to the assembly the following energetic expostulation :

“LONDON, 29th Fourth month, 1710.

“MY OLD FRIENDS:—It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that province in a language I once hoped I should never have occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions I have met with from thence, oblige me, in plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you concerning the causes of them.

“When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to many hundreds of people; and it is no small satisfaction to me that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease, and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect; and wanting nothing to make them happy, but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arisen from thence; the many combats I have engaged in; the great pains and incredible expense, for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate; of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects; with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow; that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means

it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty.

“For this reason I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees, for although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man who has an interest there is, or must be, concerned in them by their effects. I must, therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are or have been doing. Why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions, and what real causes have been given, on my side, for that opposition to me and my interest which I have met with, as if I were an enemy and not a friend, after all I have done and spent, both here and there. I am sure, I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted anything of me in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand, provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with.

“Before any one family had transported themselves thither, I earnestly endeavored to form such a model of government as might make all concerned in it easy, which nevertheless was subject to be altered, as there should be occasion. Soon after we got over, that model appeared, in some parts of it, to be very inconvenient, if not impracticable. The number of members, both in the council and assembly, was much too large. Some other matters also proved inconsistent with the king’s charter to me, so that, according to the power reserved for an alteration, there was a necessity to make one, in which, if the lower

counties were brought in, it was well known, at that time, to be on a view of advantage to the province itself, as well as to the people of those counties, and to the general satisfaction of those concerned, without the least apprehension of any irregularity in the method.

“Upon this they had another charter passed, *nemine contradicente*; which I always desired might be continued, while you yourselves would keep up to it, and put it in practice; and many there know how much it was against my will that, upon my last going over, it was vacated. But after this was laid aside (which indeed was begun by yourselves, in Colonel Fletcher’s time), I, according to my engagement, left another, with all the privileges that were found convenient for your good government; and if any part of it has been, in any case, infringed, it was never by my approbation. I desired it might be enjoyed fully. But though privileges ought to be tenderly preserved, they should not, on the other hand, be asserted under that name to a licentiousness. The design of government is to preserve good order, which may be equally broken in upon by the turbulent endeavors of the people, as well as the overstraining of power in a governor. I designed the people should be secured of an annual fixed election and assembly, and that they should have the same privileges in it that any other assembly has in the Queen’s dominions. Among all which this is one constant rule, as in the Parliament here, that they should sit on their own adjournments; but to strain this expression to a power, to meet at all times during the year without the Governor’s concurrence, would be to distort government, to break the due proportion of the parts

of it, to establish confusion in the place of necessary order, and make the legislative the executive part of government. Yet, for obtaining this power, I perceive much time and money have been spent, and great struggles have been made, not only for this, but some other things that cannot at all be for the advantage of the people to be possessed of, particularly the appointing of judges, because the administration might, by such means, be so clogged, that it would be difficult, if possible, under our circumstances, at some times, to support it. As for my own part, as I desire nothing more than the tranquillity and prosperity of the province and government in all its branches, could I see that any of these things that have been contended for, would certainly promote these ends, it would be a matter of indifference to me how they were settled. But seeing the frame of every government ought to be regular in itself, well-proportioned and subordinate in its parts, and every branch of it invested with sufficient power to discharge its respective duty for the support of the whole, I have cause to believe that nothing could be more destructive to it than to take so much of the provision and executive part of the government out of the Governor's hands and lodge it in an uncertain collective body, and more especially since our government is dependent, and I am answerable to the crown, if the administration should fail and a stop be put to the course of justice. On these considerations I cannot think it prudent in the people to crave these powers, because not only I, but they themselves, would be in danger of suffering by it. Could I believe otherwise, I should not be against granting anything of this kind that were asked of me with any degree

of common prudence and civility. But, instead of finding cause to believe that the contentions which have been raised about these matters, have proceeded only from mistakes of judgment, with an earnest desire, notwithstanding, at the bottom, to serve the public (which, I hope, has still been the inducement of several concerned in them), I have had but too sorrowful a view and sight to complain of the manner in which I have been treated. The attacks on my reputation, the many indignities put upon me, in papers sent over hither, into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against my justice, besides the attempt made upon my estate; resolves past in the assemblies for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, to the support of government; my lands entered upon without any regular method; my manors invaded (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them), and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting for the support of that government, both here and there, and no provision made for it by that country, to all which I cannot but add, the violence that has been particularly shown to my secretary, of which (though I shall by no means protect him in anything he can be justly charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions) I cannot but thus far take notice, that from all the charges I have seen or heard of against him, I have cause to believe that had he been as much in opposition to me as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder

treatment from his prosecutors; and to think that any man should be the more exposed there on my account, and instead of finding favor, meet with enmity for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration! In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and, at the same time, think of the hardships I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavors for, and disappointments from, that province, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing on themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition; and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation on which your happiness might be built.

“Friends, the eyes of many are upon you; the people of many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings which they conceive you enjoy; but to see the use you make of them is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive even the sense or meaning. Where are the distresses, grievances, and oppressions that the papers sent from thence so often say you languish under, while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any in the queen’s dominions?

“Is it such a grievous oppression that the courts are established by my power, founded on the king’s charter, without a law of your making, when upon the same plan you propose? If this disturb any, take the advice of other able lawyers on the main, without tying me up to the opinion of principally one man, whom I cannot think so very proper to direct in my affairs (for I believe the late assembly have had but that one lawyer amongst them), and I am freely content you should have any law that, by proper judges, should be found suitable. Is it your oppression that the officers’ fees are not settled by an act of assembly? No man can be a greater enemy to extortion than myself; do, therefore, allow such fees as may reasonably encourage fit persons to undertake these offices, and you shall soon have (and should have always cheerfully had) mine, and I hope my lieutenant’s concurrence and approbation. Is it such an oppression that licenses for public houses have not been settled, as has been proposed? It is a certain sign you are strangers to oppression, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable; but that business, I find, is adjusted. Could I know any real oppression you lie under, that is in my power to remedy (and what I wish you would take proper measures to remedy, if you truly feel any such) I would be as ready, on my part, to remove them as you to desire it; but according to the best judgment I can make of the complaints I have seen (and you once thought I had a pretty good one), I must, in a deep sense of sorrow, say that I fear the kind hand of Providence, that has so long favored and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many there to the great mercies

of God hitherto shown them, be at length provoked to convince them of their unworthiness ; and, by changing into calamities the blessings that so little care has been taken by the public to deserve, reduce those who have been so clamorous and causelessly discontented, to a true but smarting sense of their duty. I write not this with a design to include all. I doubt not many of you have been burdened at, and can by no means join in, the measures that have been taken ; but while such things appear under the name of an assembly that ought to represent the whole, I cannot but speak more generally than I would desire, though I am not insensible what methods may be used to obtain the weight of such a name.

“ I have already been tedious, and shall now, therefore, briefly say that the opposition I have met with from thence must, at length, force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances in relation to that province. In the meantime, I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have written, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me that has not of late been paid. Pray, consider of it fully, and think soberly what you have to desire of me on the one hand, and ought to perform to me on the other, for from the next assembly I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you towards me. But if a plurality after this shall think they owe me none, or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair election,

be so declared, and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love, and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end; our relation, in the truth, having but the same true interest.

“I am, with great truth and most sincere regard, your real friend, as well as just proprietor and governor,

WILLIAM PENN.”

At the election an entirely new set of members was returned to the assembly, and a degree of harmony between them and the Governor, which had been unknown for several years, marked the progress of the session, and this state of things continued with little interruption during the short time in which William Penn was capable of taking an active part in these concerns.

In the year 1712, William Penn agreed with the ministers of the crown upon a sale of his interest in the province and territories, to which he had devoted so large a part of his laborious life. His pecuniary difficulties and the impossibility of giving his personal attention to their concerns, were probably the moving causes of this measure. He announced the sale to his friends as follows:

“For my dear Friends, S. Carpenter, Ed. Shippen, Rich. Hill, I. Norris, C. Pusey, S. Preston, T. Story, Gr. Owen, etc., at Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania.

“RUSCOMBE, BERKS, 24th of Fifth month, 1712.

“DEAR AND WORTHY FRIENDS:—Having so fair an opportunity, and having heard from you by the bearer,

John French, I choose by him to salute you and yours, and all unnamed Friends that you think worthy, for my heart loves such, and heartily salutes them and theirs, and prays for your preservation in the Lord's everlasting truth to the end of time; and the way of it is, to take the Lord along with you in all your enterprises, to give you right sight, true counsel, and a just temper of moderation in all things, you knowing right well the Lord our God is near at hand. Now know, that though I have not actually sold my government to our truly good queen, yet her able lord treasurer and I have agreed it.

"I have taken effectual care that all the laws and privileges I have granted to you shall be observed by the queen's governors, etc., and that we who are Friends shall be in a more particular manner regarded and treated by the queen. So that you will not, I hope and believe, have a less interest in the government, being humble and discreet in our conduct.

"I purpose to see you, if God give me life, this fall, but I grow old and infirm, yet would gladly see you once more before I die, and my young sons and daughter also settled upon good tracts of land, for them and theirs after them, to clear and settle upon, as Jacob's sons did. I close when I tell you that I desire fervent prayers to the Lord for continuing my life, that I may see Pennsylvania once more before I die, and that I am your faithful, loving friend,

WILLIAM PENN."

The sum to be paid was twelve thousand pounds, one thousand of which were actually paid. But before the documents for making a legal transfer were completed, he

was attacked with a disease of an apoplectic character, which left him with a memory so far impaired that he was judged incompetent to their execution.

The account which we have of William Penn from this time, though authentic, is very short. Two years afterwards, his old friend, Thomas Story, arrived in England, and went to Ruscomb to see him. He says, "His memory was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended, so that he was not so conversable as formerly, and yet as near the Truth, in the love of it, as before, wherein appeared the great mercy and favor of God, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own and suspension of all his enjoyments till this happened to him, by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet sensible of the enjoyment of Truth as at any time in all his life. When I perceived the great defect of his expressions for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications, and what the finest of men are soon reduced to by a disorder of the organs of that body with which the soul is connected and acts during this present mode of being. His mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him, and we were greatly comforted by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of Truth in an evening meeting we had together; so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life which so much oppressed him, not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end."

In reviewing his life, the disappointments that attended it fade out of sight, and we feel assured that the equal Judge of all has placed the seal of enduring influence upon the institutions he established, the views of equal right and justice he advocated, and the declarations of eternal truth he recorded in conformity to his will.

By the inward retirement of soul and withdrawal of mind from outward and earthly influences which he so often called others to know and enjoy for themselves, he had known his spiritual strength to be renewed, his heart enlarged, his mental vision quickened and extended, and his judgment calmed and balanced as in the Divine presence; and his spirit had been raised above the influence of human institutions, customs, maxims, and creeds, and from that height a sight had been given him of eternal truth and right, and of God's own gracious ways. And now, in the failure of mind and body, this blessed communion which he had been drawn into the enjoyment of in his very early years, which had been his stay and rest throughout his active and troubled life, was accorded to him in bountiful measure. His peace was made to flow as a river which finds the last of its course through quiet meadows.

His wife writes to James Logan the last of the year 1713: "He was at Reading Meeting last First-day, as also two or three times before, and bore it very comfortably, and expressed his refreshment and satisfaction in being there, as he frequently does in the enjoyment of the Lord's goodness to him in his private retirements. He frequently expresses his loving concerns for that country's good, and sends his love in a general manner to all its

well-wishers." And about a year afterwards: "When I keep the thoughts of business from him he is very sweet, comfortable, and easy, and is cheerfully resigned to the Lord's will, and yet takes delight in his children, his friends, and domestic comforts, as formerly. It is the public and his family who feel the loss, and myself the trouble of his (I may say) translation."

Clouds lay upon his understanding, but the sun shone on his eternal prospects, and the long evening sky was clear and full of light. The first historian of his life says: "After a continued and gradual declension for about six years his body now drew near to its dissolution, and on the thirtieth day of the Fifth month, 1718, between two and three in the morning, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, his soul, prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the decayed tabernacle, which was committed to the earth on the fifth of the Sixth month following at Jordans, in Buckinghamshire, where his former wife and several of his family had been interred. And as he had led in this life a course of patient continuance in well-doing, and through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ had been enabled to overcome the world, he is, we doubt not, admitted to that everlasting inheritance which God hath prepared for his people, and made partaker of the promise of Christ. 'To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.'"

THE END.

